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CONTENTS

31 May 1990

POLITICAL

INTRABLOC

Cluj RMDSZ President on Hungarian Situation in Transylvania [Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO 20 Apr]	1
RMDSZ Official on Plea for Hungarian Minority Rights [Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO 18, 19 Apr]	2
RMDSZ Congress Report; Leaders' Communist Past; Empathy for Securitate [Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 Apr]	5

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Socialists Urge Havel Not To Yield on Republic's Name [SVOBODNE SLOVO 23 Mar]	25
Reichel Outlines Prospects of Science, Research [SVOBODNE SLOVO 23 Mar]	26
November Police Action Still Without Explanation	27
Larger Designs Suspected [ZEMEDELSE NOVINY 21 Mar]	27
Success in Evading Responsibility [ZEMEDELSE NOVINY 22 Mar]	27
Additional Questions Raised [LIDOVE NOVINY 10 Mar]	28
Future of Socialism Viewed [LIDOVE NOVINY 14 Feb]	29
Past, Future Standard of Living Assessed [PRACE 16 Feb]	30

HUNGARY

SZDSZ Executive Dramatizes Continued Communist Threat [NEPSZABADSAG 12 Apr]	32
Independent Parliamentary Faction Leader Interviewed [MAGYARORSZAG 20 Apr]	32
Public Perception of Parties' Place in Political Spectrum [NEPSZABADSAG 21 Apr]	34
Legislative Work, Legislators' Responsibility Discussed [NEPSZABADSAG 14 Apr]	35

POLAND

Solidarity's National Commission Membership [TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC 27 Apr]	37
Solidarity's National Commission Meets, Elects New Presidium [RZECZPOSPOLITA 5-6 May]	37

MILITARY

POLAND

Transformation of Army Should Keep Up With International Crisis [ZOLNIERZ POLSKI 28 Mar]	38
---	----

ECONOMIC

POLAND

Concentration of Polluters in Katowice Area Prompts Meeting [RZECZPOSPOLITA 2 Mar]	39
--	----

YUGOSLAVIA

Foreign Currency Reserves, Outflows [POLITIKA 10 May]	40
---	----

INTRABLOC

Cluj RMDSZ President on Hungarian Situation in Transylvania

90CH0077B Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO
in Hungarian 20 Apr 90 p 3

[Interview with Sandor Balazs, RMDSZ national vice chairman and chairman of the Cluj organization of the RMDSZ, by Laszlo Miklos; place and date not given: "Making a Choice"]

[Text] [Miklos] What results has the RMDSZ Kolozsvar [Cluj] organization scored thus far?

[Balazs] We hardly have any reason to be satisfied. During the period after the December revolutionary events the RMDSZ Kolozsvar organization became hardened in some tough battles, and it moved from the heated mood of a euphoric start through disillusionment and torment caused by fiascos, through enthusiasm prompted by small partial results, through the greatest variety of states of mind. The feeling of success that did not materialize and the awareness of the fact that we had accomplished something anyway, alternately paralyzed and stimulated our membership and its leadership. For long weeks and months we fought virtually hand to hand so that we could acquire a headquarters building because certain people were using the greatest variety of means and methods to frustrate our intentions. And as you see, now we have a home, although it is not the kind we deserved. It is not a gentlemen's casino, but the villa of the former first man in the county. In addition to the blank walls, we inherited only the stale air which surrounded the local potentates of a bygone dictatorship. In a symbolic way, our first task was to let the fresh air come in. As far as the actual political workings are concerned: It is peculiar, but we regard as our most important achievement not what we have achieved already, but what has not yet been achieved. Following the tragic events in Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures], thanks to no small extent to our political flexibility, blood did not flow in Kolozsvar, and the nationalities tensions did not lead to confrontations in the streets. And what we are proud of is that we did not achieve this by humbly bowing our heads or by reaching impermissible compromises—even though it may have occurred to part of our membership that we are overly agreeable. Instead, we achieved this in such a way that no one can accuse us of having betrayed the interests of our national minority, of being weak, of conspiring. Now they are talking about a kind of "Kolozsvar model" when they describe how a person can walk with his head raised without having it struck.

[Miklos] Is it difficult to be Hungarian in today's Transylvania? What does the future hold for Hungarians in Transylvania?

[Balazs] The two questions are related. It is difficult to be Hungarian in Transylvania today, because our fate, our future is uncertain. One of the great achievements of the

revolution was that the lock has fallen off the people's mouths; whatever they could only think before may now be expressed in one way or another; moreover, on occasion they may even be put on paper. In a paradoxical way this is both good and bad. Paper holds many things. Today some people may declare without impediment things that could not be expressed under the totalitarian system, because in those days intentions to exercise power had to be disguised. And it is exactly this outspokenness which produces our dark future, or the direct determination of certain forces that we have no future at all. We are seeing newspaper articles, agitating pamphlets, and posters. Appearing in a new kind packaging, they proclaim the ideal of a unified national state, and although they do not use the discredited word "homogenizing," the national minority, as a color spot, is still missing from the deprived future image. On occasion one hears rough threats, one sees impatient persons dissatisfied with the relatively slower assimilation policies of the Ceausescu dictatorship. They want to settle the "Hungarian affair" in one or two steps, by having us surrender quickly, or by having us deported or outright physically annihilated. That is the way they think that an absolutely unicolored Greater Romania can be established. We have one hope, and this is the chance of our future: that in the end the sober mind will prevail, and the forces that want to expel us to Asia will not acquire political power, so that they will not even have a chance of realizing their goals.

[Miklos] In this context it is understandable why the emigration of Hungarians in Transylvania continues. How can all of this be curbed?

[Balazs] Only by establishing a secure consciousness about the future. Whoever feels secure about his own and his children's future, who envisions an inviolable opportunity for the preservation of his national identity and for acceptable existential conditions, who will not leave his native land unless he is an adventurer or unless he has some definite personal reasons such as, let's say actual, not fictitious family reunification. The greatest problem is that the direction our fate takes is dependent upon us to a much smaller extent, and we are exposed to a much greater extent to the influence of power, in other words, whatever happens to us it not primarily the consequence of our own volition, it is increasingly becoming a fate accorded to us. Most frequently it is this dependence that prompts people to wander away. This is a vicious circle: Our future both depends and does not depend upon us. It depends upon us to the extent that we will remain Hungarians in Romania as a function of our number and the force that we represent. On the other hand, the question of how many of us will remain will be determined mostly by factors that are beyond our control. They are determined by those who hold power. Simply put: Emigration may be reduced if, in addition to the ability of Hungarians to bear the burden, there are actual circumstances for democratization, thus the people have a guarantee for a realistic perspective of an existence as part of the nation.

[Miklos] How can the Romanian public be convinced that the Hungarians of Romania also want real democracy and the retention of their national existence, language, and culture, and that all of this is not in conflict with the Romanians?

[Balazs] Democracy is an indivisible single whole. If democracy existed only for certain persons, it no longer would be what it purports to be. It would become a dictatorship to those who do not enjoy democracy, and in and of itself this is a contradiction. If one applies this concept to the nationalities situation, there can be no real Romanian democracy without ensuring the civil rights of minorities, and in the reverse, we, the Hungarians of Romania, will be unable to achieve for ourselves a situation in which they treat us in a democratic manner unless at the same time the Romanian nation as a whole enjoys the fruits of democracy. Many do not understand this relationship, and when we express our expectations for fostering our culture, for the free use of our language and the development of a native tongue educational network, they accuse us of seeking "prerogatives," and of weakening the state's power. The opposite is true. We want to strengthen Romanian democracy through these actions. Let us think only of the extent to which Romania's international standing and the credibility of the country's democratic transformation would increase if international public opinion were to recognize with satisfaction that democratic civil rights have come alive following the dark decades of dictatorship, and that they have come alive unimpaired, i.e. they extend to the minorities.

[Miklos] Thus far we have not discussed the peculiar problems the RMDSZ is experiencing. Elections are coming up, the Association is preparing for its congress.

[Balazs] True, we have not discussed this subject, but essentially we were discussing the Hungarian "voting man" in Romania. And if we think this through, this is our best designation, because we are constantly facing alternatives, we must make decisions all the time, and not just in the voting booth or in the auditorium in which the congress is held. Our Kolozsvár organization must repeatedly make choices with regard to the tactics to be used in dialogue with Romanian political formations; everyone must decide what we should do in the interest of our future, even the matter of staying here or leaving is more or less subject to a determination. And here we are facing two events when the term "choosing" must be understood in its strictest sense. The essence of our approach to these two events—the congress and the elections—is appropriately reflected by the following, seemingly playful call which nevertheless holds deep truth: "Let us not only vote, let us make a choice." It would be beneficial to instill this in the people's consciousness, because for decades we have been voting without making a choice. And one of our election watchwords complements this in an excellent manner: "For a decent cause—with decent people."

RMDSZ Official on Plea for Hungarian Minority Rights

90CH0076A Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO
in Hungarian 18, 19 Apr 90

[Interview with Geza Domokos, provisional executive committee chairman of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania (RMDSZ), by Gabor Cseke on 11 April; place not given: "Preparing for the First Congress of the RMDSZ: Let Us Have Confidence in Ourselves"—first two paragraphs are ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO introduction]

[18 Apr pp 1, 3]

[Text] On 11 April 1990 when this conversation took place we tried to look into the upcoming 10-day period in a way that would provide some lessons and directions to the days immediately preceding the first RMDSZ congress.

Above all, we tried to clarify this question: Why did the Association feel that it was necessary to postpone its first congress?

[Domokos] The events at Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures] prompted us to postpone the congress. In addition, the original date coincided with the start of the election campaign, a matter we could not disregard. We felt we needed some time in order to better prepare ourselves. There was yet another matter we had to take into consideration: signals, suggestions, near pressure from the Provisional Council of the National Alliance to reconsider our choice of the place where the congress was to be held. Weighing the arguments required time, thus we decided to postpone the congress by two weeks.

[Cseke] The statement issued at the last session of the Association presidium makes brief reference to this decision. For what reason did you decide to hold the congress in Nagyvarad [Oradea]?

[Domokos] We are confident that Hungarians in Romania are sufficiently sober and considerate, and that they have enough political savvy even under these extraordinary circumstances caused by the shock instilled in their souls after the Marosvasarhely tragedy, to rise above their emotions and look beyond their momentary disappointments. In addition, at that meeting I became convinced of the fact that the members from the countryside, primarily those from Nagyvarad, provided a thorough, reliable situation analysis. In their view, the difference between [levels of] tension in various areas is obvious, even though tension was created everywhere, both before and after the Marosvasarhely events. Discounting the common features, the situation is different, better, more encouraging in Nagyvarad, Temesvar [Timisoara], or Arad, for example. Although the events touched the people's disposition and the atmosphere in the cities—could it have been otherwise?—we did not experience any disturbing circumstance insofar as cooperation between the RMDSZ and

the authorities is concerned. Having seen this, I do not believe that it would be appropriate to make a global assessment of the situation, and to talk about a general tension in Transylvania. Members of the presidium were concerned about all the things that took place at Marosvasarhely; they could not understand why the revelation of truth and the pinpointing of responsibility are delayed; at the same time, however, aware of the fact that we are preparing ourselves for a congress, they urged that we transcend this painful event, irrespective of how difficult that may be, and concentrate on things to be done in the future.

[Cseke] How long did the debate over the location last?

[Domokos] At least two hours. We thoroughly reviewed the pros and cons of holding the congress in Nagyvarad, so that we could recognize the factors that may be in the background of the insistence on the exercise of power. In the end we stuck to our decision. After all, the preparations were made, hundreds of people were involved in the organizing work, the city's atmosphere is good, and the county organization's relationship with the military command, the police, and the fire services is normal. According to plan, they will sit down once again today to review the tasks and make assignments. At the same time they are preparing joint minutes, to be witnessed by all persons involved, which we will present in Bucharest to all those who are so concerned.

[Cseke] Accordingly, could there be no danger?

[Domokos] One may think, for example, of the proximity of the border, the possible danger that perhaps some irresponsible tourists will cross over from Hungary, people who could cause disturbances and make provocations. In order to dispel even the shade of any suspicion of this nature, we also take this opportunity to ask our friends in Hungary to postpone their planned visits to Nagyvarad and its vicinity for after those two days, if it is possible to do so, unless someone has something to do that cannot be postponed. This would eliminate even the shade of semblance in the heads of the suspicious who disapprove of this congress and would like to disturb it by any means. Those who are unable to postpone their travel should not provide any opportunity with their presence to find something that could be turned against us.

[Cseke] Most certainly, the congress will try to transcend the Marosvasarhely events and will call attention to tasks related to the approaching elections and to the struggle for democracy. How does this perspective stand in the aftermath of Marosvasarhely?

[Domokos] Actually, a majority of the parties have not yet taken a position with regard to the tragic events, and Parliament has not debated the issue. I spoke with representatives of several parties not too long ago and told them that it would be beneficial to issue a proclamation to the effect that no one should be able to use the tensions that exist between Romanians and Hungarians for electioneering purposes. I was promised that they

would revert to this proposal after Parliament takes a position. We are considering the possibility of having the congress adopt a proclamation to Romanian political forces, parties, and organizations. Temptations are great, not everyone can resist, and the truth is that these days it is easy to become popular by protecting the national interest and territorial integrity. On the other hand, the future of democracy is another matter. It has been said many times that resolving the minority issue will be the touchstone of democracy. This may be an exaggeration, nevertheless there is no doubt that it will be one of the touchstones. There can be no democracy in a country where nearly a tenth of the populace is being accused of the commission of collective crimes, where they question the loyalty of a significant part of the populace, where they dream of a situation in which the Hungarians of Romania would be placed under constant supervision, where they do not even want to hear about local autonomy. But the adoption of real democracy, economic renewal, a constitutional state, equality, and equal opportunity is not possible in a place where the idea of autonomy is rejected. Only centralism may be considered in such places, and dictatorship is only one step away from that. For this reason it is the duty of everyone to comprehend the process which led to the conflict in Marosvasarhely in its historical depth, and not to simplify the explanation by saying that the Hungarians, the parents and the students or representatives of the RMDSZ, were hasty and that they wanted to secure themselves such and such privileges. I regard the fact that there is an increasing number of more sober analytical articles on this issue also in the Romanian language press as encouraging. Unless we mutually draw conclusions there will be no way of candid acquiescence, or long-term cooperation and real unity.

[18 Apr pp 1, 3]

[Text] [Cseke] The RMDSZ intended to conduct dialogue with the "nonpolitical" organization called Vatra Romaneasca. The discussion did not materialize at the scheduled time; then the Marosvasarhely events took place, and thereafter the dialogue that had not taken place before took place after all, though under extraordinary circumstances. How do you view the results of that discussion?

[Domokos] This is not the way I perceived the meeting with Vatra. We prepared ourselves in the middle of March to sit down with them at our place, at our headquarters in Bucharest to compare our programs under relaxed circumstances, to familiarize ourselves with each other, to learn about each other's perceptions, and to dispel possible misunderstandings.... The fact that the government committee dispatched to Marosvasarhely virtually ordered the RMDSZ county organization to sit down and negotiate with Vatra may be explained by the situation. I can only regret that this dialogue improvised in an emergency situation was made to become an institution. The RMDSZ is not the sole

representative of Hungarians in Romania; the Independent Hungarian Party, the Romanian Hungarian Christian Democratic Party, and the Smallholders Party have emerged in the meantime. Unavoidably, pluralism also prevailed in our minority life. It is equally obvious that a single party or social formation is unable to represent the society of Romania, thus Vatra cannot regard itself as the exclusive representative of Romanians in Transylvania. To narrow down the debate about the Romanian-Hungarian situation, about the rights of Hungarians in Romania, to a debate between RMDSZ and Vatra is mistaken in my view. Not to mention the fact that we do not like our organization constantly being mentioned jointly with this "cultural" organization.

[Cseke] How did your last presidium meeting regard this issue?

[Domokos] We passed a resolution that in the future, if needed, we will participate in roundtable discussions with representatives of parties who have something to say regarding the minority issue and are willing to play a role in resolving conflicts. Actually, our negotiations with Vatra did not constitute a dialogue at all. One cannot conduct dialogue from the vantage point of power, with threats, by presenting the other side with completed facts. We were disadvantaged from the outset, and we should be thankful to our friends in Marosvasarhely for trying to defend the cause of Hungarians from that area by presenting arguments seriously and with dignity—they tried to argue in support of our just demands. Incidentally, I notice that in recent times they have increasingly degraded the practice of dialogue in general, so that dialogue has been made into a tactical practice. Endless dialogue, that is talking just to talk, is a dangerous tactical step, and meanwhile they are delaying the resolution. The tension remains, the conflict laden situation remains, unless they provide answers to the questions. We must avoid this trap by all means. The issues surrounding the matter of minority education by now are exclusively under the jurisdiction of the ministry specializing in the field of education. So many opinions, proposals, comments, and government statements have been heard and amassed relative to this issue that the time has come to take these matters seriously. In other words, the need calls for specific steps to be taken, for clear perspectives.

[Cseke] What criticisms confront the RMDSZ after more than three months in existence?

[Domokos] Critique received from the inside is almost as sharp as that received from the outside. In our forums thus far it has been openly stated that the Association endeavors to achieve hegemony, that the organization is overly centralized, that it conducts political affairs in an amateurish way, that it has difficulty in finding its path to the young, and that it is not sufficiently tolerant with respect to diversity. Others accuse us of being weak, of being overly permissive, and of a flagging state of enforcing the central will. Our point is this: One may find something useful in all kinds of criticism, things a

person may turn around to his benefit. I would not reject these criticisms, because in many instances they are not entirely groundless. Unfortunately we have no politicians, and this provides the source for most of our blunders. We are learning the rules of politics and diplomacy as we go along. One thing is certain: A number of personalities have appeared in the framework of RMDSZ activities upon whom we must build in the future. As far as external criticism is concerned, there are some that are worthy of listening to, and we are willing to debate with everyone calmly, on a substantive basis. There are many accusations, particularly in the Romanian press. They are accusing us of manifesting intolerance, of making exaggerated demands, of calling upon our members in the interest of separatism, and of territorial detachment. It has become apparent that a campaign to discredit and intimidate the RMDSZ leaders and the personalities among Hungarians in Romania has begun. We must maintain our calm, we must not pick up the glove that has been thrown on the ground, because, after all, actions and facts always prove correct the one who stands on the basis of principle, the one who is correct.

[Cseke] What will take place at the congress, according to the preliminary plans?

[Domokos] It will be held at our Nagyvarad headquarters. Originally we planned to hold it in the theater, but the directors withdrew their earlier promise. Some internal construction is going on in the trade union cultural home, thus we decided to hold the congress in the auditorium of the headquarters building. There will be general debate on the first day, i.e. on Saturday; in the afternoon we will break up into working groups. The managing bodies will be elected on Sunday morning, following general debate, and the organization's program, its bylaws, and the congress' resolution will be adopted. We have invited foreign journalists assigned to Bucharest, as well as radio and television; in other words we would like the congress to receive as much publicity as possible. In conclusion: As is well known, we are running in the elections as an independent force. In the recent past some opinions and private views have been heard, some perceptions have emerged, according to which as an ultimate form of protest we could perhaps boycott the elections altogether. True, these views surfaced in a very tense, uncertain situation, when the government appeared impotent, when the state leadership simply did not understand our problems, and did not want to even examine the critical situation. Three weeks have passed since, and now we see that in many the conditional tense of that statement did not register; they misunderstood the statement and regarded it as a call for specific political conduct. Since then we have overcome the crisis, we hope. And at this time we must understand even more that it is a vital matter for us to place as many Hungarians in Parliament as possible. Accordingly, the urgent need at this moment is that every Hungarian voter go to the polls. If they vote for the RMDSZ, that is even better. By now it increasingly

appears that in the remaining transitional period nothing will be resolved in our favor, and we are talking about a month, or a month and a half. The case concerning our rights is being laid in the hands of a yet nonexistent Parliament. We must set aside our feelings of being offended, perhaps our sense of disillusionment. Fear must also be set aside. We must proceed in awareness of our responsibility and our strength. We must not forget that success can be found in unity. But the future can also be found in unity.

RMDSZ Congress Report; Leaders' Communist Past; Empathy for Securitate

90CH0087A Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO
in Hungarian 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 Apr 90

[Article by Zoltan Barabas: "The Forum for Staying Here"]

[24 Apr pp 1, 2]

[Text] The first congress of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] met for two days and two nights in Nagyvarad [Oradea], in the Cultural Home of trade unions. Amid never before seen security measures, in the presence of almost 350 delegates holding mandates, a large number of Romanian and foreign invited persons, and more than [number illegible] Romanian and foreign reporters, the first congress of the leading political organization of Hungarians in Romania opened. In its first day the congress proved that four months after the victorious revolution in Romania, and barely a month after the anti-Hungarian pogrom at Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures], the organization intends to do no less than become the forum for staying here.

The watchword "A Home in the Homeland," which dominated the left side of the stage, expressed in a suggestive way the wish cherished by all of us, the human and political profession of faith by Hungarians living here. It actually expressed the fact that we are tied to this place not only by our roots, but by our intentions, thoughts, and hopes in this land whose future we cannot, and do not wish to, imagine without the millions of people who will stay here. The fact is that in our eyes the quality of being European, a belonging to Europe, primarily represents a measurement in degrees, RMDSZ Bihar County Chairman Bela Nagy stressed on behalf of the congress' welcoming committee. It actually expresses the organic intertwining of the past and the present, a clear continuity. It does so in a way every enlightened person dreams about in possession of unimpaired human and civil rights. The other watchword: "Unity Holds the Future" speaks for itself.

The historic moment referred to by RMDSZ Provisional Executive Committee Chairman Geza Domokos in his opening speech meant in the minds of Hungarians from Romania the opportunity to establish a real democracy. Consequently, our grasping this moment, the fact that we

stand up for democracy, "is not a momentary decision, not a tactical step, but the sole possible choice, the only passable way."

But based the initial remarks, and the evaluation that was made at the Saturday afternoon plenary session, one could clearly feel the plurality of views, the polarization of power conditions within the association, and why should we not call it by its name: the increased "interest" in redistributing the leadership roles within the RMDSZ, the battle that is being waged on several fronts, started by the advocates of a renewal at any price. That is, one could sense the advance that was made by the Kolozsvár [Cluj] wing. Through their delegates who were educated in political science, and who dealt with these matters almost like professionals, this wing of the organization stood up for radical renewal and for an unavoidable generational change in the guard. Actually, an expectation that only "clean" people, immaculate from the standpoint of their political past, could lead the RMDSZ has been expressed rather clearly by the Marosvasarhely delegates who comprise the other wing. But they, who found a way out of the conflict situation which was created with the devil's shrewdness thus neutralizing the "explosive mechanisms" which almost drifted the minority into an absurd civil war, tried to approach the questions raised at the congress with a more mature political approach, obviously suggesting that in regard to the most sensitive issues, among them personal matters, decisions should be reached preferably on the basis of a wise consensus. But despite this fact, on Saturday evening it appeared that a rift within the RMDSZ could not be prevented.

Is yet another essential turnaround possible? And in general, who would benefit from such a schism?

We talked and conversed about this issue at length in the auditorium and in the corridors, aware of the fact that only a month was left before the national elections. And the RMDSZ has not even started its election campaign!

And a miracle occurred. On Sunday morning one could hear something different in the speeches, because the majority openly stated its desire, and tried to seek the way out by lining up smart arguments. This was reflected in the theoretically still available alternative, according to which the RMDSZ should try to move away from dead center, from the paralyzing stage of intrigue, without internal division and without personal conflicts, because the time has run out on what is at stake: participation in the elections. At the same time, it is bad even to think about the fact that an exaggerated exclusivity, and the resultant rift, may easily result in an ugly electoral defeat.

Although everyone has worked hard already, at midnight on Sunday encouraging signs could be seen only with regard to debate concerning the documents produced by the congress and their adoption. That is, a 101-member steering committee was easily put together so that, amid visible signs of tormented waiting, fading attention, and

fatigue, they announced the election of the 15-member presidium, and the fact that this organization is composed of Geza Domokos, Geza Szocs, Andras Beres, Bela Marko, Ferenc Formanek, Zsolt Szilagyi, Eva Cs Gyimesi, Istvan Csutak, Barna Bodo, Lajos Kantor, Attila Zonda, Tibor T. Toro, Peter Eross, Bela Nagy, and Attila Verestey.

This body also "stepped aside." And when we thought that even Tuesday would find us in the trade union cultural home, Bishop Laszlo Tokes informed us of an unexpected impediment. The workings of the body preparing to elect a president and an executive secretary were "unexpectedly disturbed by the appearance of two delegates, one from Hargita, the other from Kovaszna." They claimed that representation was disproportionate, and requested that under no circumstances should the leading officers be elected without them!

Quite naturally, in this instance Laszlo Tokes who chaired the session recommended an open ballot, and as a result the four candidates finishing "below the line" were elected members of the presidium, because three of them were already counted as representatives of counties which reserved their rights. Thus, Lajos Sylvester, Gyula Vida, Gabor Kolumban, and Istvan Kiraly joined the new round of balloting as a result of which ... the recently elected bishop of the Kiralyhago [Bucea] area reformed church district was forced to announce another stalemate, since the number of approving and abstaining votes cast for the two presidential candidates, Geza Domokos and Geza Szocs, was identical.

What followed was another vote which is the exact opposite of what is prescribed in the rules. As a result of that vote, on Monday morning, at 0337 hours, Laszlo Tokes announced that Geza Domokos had become the RMDSZ president based on the vote of a sweeping majority, with only eight negative votes and six abstentions! Two minutes later Geza Szocs was elected executive secretary. Further, it was announced that the election of the three vice presidents and the three secretaries was within the authority of the presidium, and that this would take place at the first meeting of the presidium on Friday, to be held in Kolozsvár.

Just what happens now...?

I believe we should hope that we do not quote some final words from Shakespeare!

[25 Apr pp 1, 3]

[Text]

"A Home in the Homeland, and ... Unity Holds the Future"

Under different circumstances I would perhaps be ashamed for the cheap method of using watchwords as a title. But here, exceptionally, I have not tried to escape the difficulty involved in wording a title: I have used the

watchwords that faced the delegates from the two sides of the presidential stage on 21-22 April 1990 in Nagyvarad [Oradea].

We have completed the initial flash reports concerning the preparations, we know the names of the elected leaders, we have heard of these matters both in domestic and foreign radio newscasts, and rumors floating around have spread rapidly, but all of this amounts to very little if one wants to be informed.

Five of us covered the congress on behalf of our editorial offices; two of these reporters were present in their capacity as members of county delegations, and three covered the events strictly as reporters. Irrespective of this, however, further reports will attempt to present to the readers different aspects of the congress viewed from different vantage points, the lessons learned at the congress, some mutually complementing trends in the organization, and the significance of the event.

Initially we limited ourselves to publishing a mostly condensed, but detailed record of the congress, just as we did at the time of the Sepsiszentgyorgy [Sfintu-Gheorghie] delegate meeting, so that every reader could form his own view concerning the events. Subsequently we thought that we would add some highlights we found necessary—journalists do more than just register actual events, after all.

We feel that there is a need for such expanded writing because we are convinced that from the standpoint of the RMDSZ membership clear talk and openness are the most honorable and most convincing means of coming to believe that Nagyvarad was the site of an active search for the unity of Hungarians in Romania, and that the 20 May elections will be the first serious test for Hungarians in Romania. It will judge the work our delegates to the congress performed.

Who Should Sit at the Table?

The congress was called to order by Bela Nagy, chairman of the RMDSZ Bihar County organization. The opening was delayed by more than half an hour. His introductory speech delivered with lyric passion placed the events into long- and short-term historical context. Following the introductory speech he welcomed the delegates on behalf of the host, and moved that the following persons serve as members of the congressional presidium: Laszlo Tokes, Karoly Kiraly, Geza Domokos, Ferenc Folticska, Attila Verestoy, Sandor Balazs, Ferenc Formanek, Istvan Antal, Andras Beres, Lajos Sylvester, Laszlo Zolya, Zsolt Szilagyi, Odon Bitay, Jozsef Szedly, as well as himself [Bela Nagy]. He supported the recommendation by saying that in their capacity as provisional leaders of the Association, these persons could be held accountable by the membership for the work performed thus far, until the elections, and this fact should also be reflected in the formality of allowing them to preside over the congress.

Kolozsvár [Cluj] delegate Miklos Varadi commented on the motion to the effect that in his view the purpose of

the congress was to elect a new leadership. He said that ill effects would result if the old leadership remained in the presidium to the end. He suggested a compromise solution: This presidium should chair the proceedings until Sunday morning, thereafter a new, impartial presidium should be elected.

Bela Nagy emphasized that his proposal conformed with general practice, and the congress agreed to the original motion.

Bihar County Mayor Doral Draghiel took the floor. After greeting the delegates he reported on the initial steps the county has taken during the short period since the revolution. He recommended that the delegates pay their respect to the memory of the heroic dead with one minute of silence; as he said, "we took part in the battles together, and jointly sacrificed our blood." He also greeted guests from Romania and those who arrived from abroad, and called attention to the city and the county, where people are one large family. Nagyvarad has always served as an example for nurturing Romanian and Hungarian cultural relations and the mutual effects these cultures exert upon each other, and therefore it is appropriate that the city be regarded as one of Romania's gateways to the West. Mr. Draghiel stressed that as a mayor and a Romanian it is his task to be alert and to observe respect for minority rights. He assured the audience that [in Nagyvarad] they resolve all problems in the spirit of equality, irrespective of whether Hungarians or Romanians are involved. At the same time, good relations were established with minority organizations from the outset. The mayor was able to become acquainted with valuable, clear-sighted persons and politicians in the leadership bodies of minority organizations, and the workings of these people are based on cooperation and mutual confidence. In conclusion he wished success to the first RMDSZ congress in achieving its revolutionary goals.

Bela Nagy, who chaired the morning session reported on the congress' proposed program, as it was prepared in advance. The agenda included an item which called for a specialized committee meeting on Saturday afternoon, followed by a gala presentation of an Aron Tamasi play at the Ede Szigligeti theater for the entire congress.

Let's Not Waste Time!

These words constituted a sudden proposal by presidium member Karoly Kiraly; let's omit the afternoon specialized committee debate and continue in the plenary session in dealing with matters that need to be resolved here.

The next proposal was made on behalf of the MISZSZ [not further expanded]; in their view everything could be discussed in the framework of the 15 specialized committees, but the organizers forgot about the most important issue: the problem that attends the upcoming parliamentary elections. This is so even though the membership is totally uninformed in this regard and is uncertain what needs to be done in this respect.

Lajos Kantor from Kolozsvár suggested a compromise: The committee charged with finalizing the program should be the largest committee and should stay in place, while the remaining committees should continue their work with reduced membership.

Arpad Marton from Sepsiszentgyorgy inquired about the subject matters to be dealt with by committees. "What could be discussed in such a short period of time?"

Bela Nagy supported the compromise suggested by Kantor, i.e. a small plenum.

The MISZSZ raised another question: "What is the job of the group that is supposed to finalize the program? The rest of the committees may also come up with some proposals. How would those be included in the program?"

Presidium member Sandor Balazs suggested that proposals should be recorded by each specialized group leader in the course of the evening, and that he, as head of the program committee, will try to consider all comments Saturday night, prior to Sunday morning.

Chairman Geza Domokos reported the original concept concerning specialized committees. According to the original concept, these committees would develop the specialized tasks of concern to the Association until the next congress. For this reason he felt that the activities of these committees were very important.

The presiding officer called for a vote on the first proposal, but Karoly Kiraly insisted that his proposal also be put to a vote.

Bela Nagy tried to evade this situation: He claimed that it would be difficult to count votes; they had not prepared themselves for such a situation.

Adam Katona of Szekelyudvarhely [Odorhei] jumped to his feet: "Well, what did you prepare yourself for, an old communist-type presentation?"

Lajos Demeny from Bucharest stressed that "based on experience thus far, we have always adopted our documents at the last moment and in haste. There will be no time for joint debate concerning the substance if we waste time in specialized committees. And anyway, the specialized committees cannot produce anything new, except for the proposal concerning the elections." The presiding officer called on the ushers standing in the door to help count the votes. They did not succeed in counting the votes on their first try. They confused the rows in the great haste. Thereafter they tried to count the votes row by row, and to add up the partial results. Although this went slower, in the end it became clear that more than half of those present in the auditorium had voted for continuing with the specialized committee meetings, while somewhat less than half had voted against it. Thirty plus delegates abstained.

In the end, based on the vote, a compromise solution was found. This calmed passions: Following the specialized

committee debates they would return to the auditorium, and by sacrificing the presentation in the theater the plenary debate would continue as long as there were persons wanting to speak.

In Lieu of Opening Debate

Geza Domokos took the floor, proposing that instead of opening debate, the Association should hold an informative session, reporting on its work thus far, present problems, and things to be done. Before reading his prepared text, Domokos told the meeting that if someone had told him five months ago that this many people would be present at the Nagyvarad RMDSZ congress he would have regarded that as simply impossible. "The magnitude of the change that has taken place in the country and in the world, and the historic times we are living in, increase people's sense of responsibility. The meeting will either make appropriate decisions, in which case the fruits of those decisions will be reaped in the long term, or the meeting will produce bad decisions, which will prove that we started out on the wrong path from the beginning, and in that case we will not be able to make up for our losses. Democracy does not raise concerns, one should only welcome democracy. I am concerned that having emerged from the grip of dictatorship, amid the great freedom we will forget what is of the essence. We are here at our first congress to establish the Association. To adopt the bylaws and the program that was published in the press. It is important that we assess the significance of this political moment, as well as our societal and political goals. Because we are here not only for this day. We are not engaged merely in minority politics; we must provide a response to all the problems that preoccupy Romanian society. We will be swept to the periphery unless we do so. Let us think of our friends from Nagyvarad who agreed to perform this difficult task, so that we will conduct our first congress safely and under favorable circumstances."

Thereafter the RMDSZ president began reading his prepared text. He welcomed the 272 county delegates, the 50 persons delegated to the congress, as well as the representatives of invited parties, movements, and organizations, the diplomats from Bucharest, representatives of foreign parties and organizations, and the foreign press. He then continued:

"We should not be afraid to say that we are sharing a historic moment. The December revolution opened an opportunity for democracy to Hungarians in Romania, just as it did for the entire society of our country. We may rightfully claim that with more than 70 years of minority experience, Hungarians in Romania are among the social forces which have an existential interest in witnessing the democratization of Romanian society. Hungarians in Romania attested to this by participating in the revolution, as well as by the role they have played during the past months in various forums of public life. They have attested to this commitment primarily by

establishing the RMDSZ, an organization which provides public interest representation and interest protection to Hungarians in Romania, and which has followed the basic principles of democracy both in the past and in the present, insofar as its entire structure and operations are concerned. It is important to state this, because there are some who do not sympathize with us, and who tried to interpret our 2 November Statement as an indication that we prepared our dubious plans well in advance, and that this is why we were able to present these plans ahead of other parties and movements, already during the initial days following the revolution. We suggest to these suspicious souls that, indeed, these plans have been maturing in the collective consciousness of Hungarians in Romania for a long time, precisely as a result of the decades of experience I just mentioned. On the other hand, it amounts to mere fiction if one says that these plans are targeted against someone, and particularly against the Romanian people or the Romanian state. Hungarians in Romania have learned through personal experience that there is no alternative to the choice between self sacrifice and democracy, as long as one thinks in the historical perspective. It then follows that our standing up for democracy is not the result of a momentary decision, it is not a matter of tactical consideration. It represents the sole possible choice, the only passable way. At the same time, we are convinced that Romanian society does not have any other choice, if it indeed wants to resolve the contradictions that have accumulated in the course of the past decades, and if it is not satisfied with a mere surface treatment, a cosmetic touch up, thus postponing the day when reality must be faced. By now it has become clear to many that the future of Romanian democracy is inconceivable without critically confronting the past. Such confrontation, on the other hand, presumes the thorough examination of this century's political history, including the way the Romanian political [sphere] related to the minority issue following the unification of 1918. The goal to establish democracy also commits the RMDSZ to developing its concept, its program, its entire strategy in a broader context. In part, this is because one of the favorite tricks of the enemies of democracy is to attribute goals and concepts to our movement and our organization which presumably incorporate the questioning of the status quo, the intent to revise the historical situation that evolved in 1918. We are responding to similar charges when we make clear our position in regard to the historic past, and incorporate that in the image formed about a democratic Romanian society, and about the future of a Europe reconstructed on new foundations. This is needed even more so, because the past months' experience shows that the Romanian public is uninformed with regard to the historic reality of minority existence, and this not only renders dialogue and a sober view of our goals difficult, but also opens a broad opportunity for those who would try to discredit our endeavors, and compromise our Association by using the means of misinformation and manipulation, thus ultimately forestalling the achievement of our rights.

"Our native land, Transylvania, is part of the Romanian state: Its belonging to Romania was sanctioned first by the Trianon Peace Treaty, and later by the Paris Peace Treaty. At the same time, these peace treaties included provisions supposedly guaranteeing the rights of minorities, the same rights that were proclaimed by the 1 December 1918 grand meeting at Gyulafehérvár [Alba Julia]. The specific definition of these rights indeed provides an opportunity for a democratic evolution of minority existence. Nevertheless, post World War I Romanian society was unable to realize the proclaimed principles, because the institutional system of democracy was able to settle minority issues only in an ambiguous, contradictory form. Precisely for this reason, in our negotiations with representatives of the reorganized political parties and at public forums, we have always pointed out clearly and proclaimed the view that, insofar as the evolution of minority life after 1918 is concerned, we must distinguish between the stated principles and the practice that was followed by society. In essence this means that a conceptual recognition of matters is only a starting point for the settlement of the minority issues. This must be followed by establishing appropriate institutions, by providing legal protection, so that it becomes possible to talk about a truly democratic exercise of rights. Without that—as was proven during the period between the two world wars—the danger of denying or withdrawing rights, of distorting minority policies, will constantly exist. As a matter of historical objectivity we must also add that the political settlement of the minority issue in the aftermath of World War I was definitely made more complicated by revisionist endeavors that emerged with great force in European politics, endeavors which established as their goal the forceful changing of the provision of peace treaties, and which in the end triggered World War II. Today we profess what clearly appeared to sober-minded contemporaries at that time: The Vienna Decision, the forceful partition of Transylvania, was not and could not have been a fair resolution of the minority issue. But once again, in the spirit of historical justice we must make two supplemental statements in this relation. First, the minority issue would not have become a tool of power politics pursued by the great powers had Romanian society proven itself to be capable of achieving democratic self determination. Second: The trauma caused by the 1940 partition of Transylvania in Romanian historical consciousness, trauma that is alive to this date in the thoughts of both the contemporaries and the younger generations, must not provide any basis for determining the rights to which the minority is entitled at present, under entirely different historical circumstances.

"As we have made unmistakably clear on all occasions, the belonging of Transylvania is not debatable. This is not a tactical matter from our standpoint, it is a matter of political clear sight which stems primarily from our conviction that our relations with the Romanian nation must be placed on firm foundations of principle. The principle which serves as the basis of this relationship

can be none other than the loyal citizenship of Hungarians in Romania, one that unequivocally rules out the possibility of our Association entertaining any opinion or concept which violates the country's territorial integrity and sovereignty. At the same time, it is obvious that we reject any attempt to portray the program to realize the exercise of minority rights as one that cannot be reconciled with loyal citizenship and citizens' duties, one that perhaps even endangers the interests of the Romanian state. We also must be aware that it is useful to distinguish between accusations made by some of our malicious compatriots and certain political groupings designed to intentionally mislead public opinion on the one hand, and the lack of comprehension manifested by uninformed strata of society which were misled for a long period of time. Precisely for this reason we must consider it our constant task to use all available means to dispel misunderstandings, in the interest of bringing about dialogue to bring the [two] nations closer and to raise the level of political culture.

"By now it has become a historic fact that the most difficult era in the life of Hungarians in Romania was the period [since] 1944, and within that the period of dictatorship beginning in 1965. (...)

"In my view, the lessons to be learned from the above may be summarized as follows:

"1. Under single-party conditions, the minority issue is necessarily exposed to abuse by those in power, because the single-party system enables concentration and centralization of a magnitude that provides ample room for the use of force, for the implementation of administrative measures flowing from the top to the bottom by making use of the oppressive apparatus. Experience shows that any single-party system, and in particular its most distorted form, personal dictatorship, provides an opportunity for the arbitrary handling of the minority issue in a manner removed from reality. This includes the full negation of minority issues and the attempt to totally absorb the minorities.

"2. Ensuring minority rights is a complex political and social issue. It is closely related to the structure of political power, the extent to which society demands freedom, and the prevailing level of culture. All of us are familiar with the fact that the Ceausescu-type dictatorship, and in particular the final decade and a half of that dictatorship, was the most distorted, most inhuman variety of East European communism. It regarded the sharing of graces, which characterized similar East European societies, as communism, while its dictatorial character incorporated the extremist features of this century's totalitarian systems. As a result, the essence of this system included not only a lack of tolerance manifested toward the minorities, but also the chauvinist ideology which excluded minorities from social life, withdrew their rights, and in the end would have served as a foundation for totally liquidating these minorities. This ideology, in part, adopted and further developed the nationalities, and primarily the anti-Hungarian outlook

of nationalist Romanian historical writing, and in part hid its actual goals behind false "socialist" slogans.

"What I just said instantly suggests why the settlement of the minority issue is so difficult in post-Ceausescu era Romanian society, why this society is incapable of managing this issue for the time being without severe contradictions, rescissions, and detours. In December 1989 the single-party system ceased to exist in Romania, and conditions for the establishment of a democratic, pluralist society were established. This breakthrough holds out the promise of settling the minority issue. In reviewing the developments regarding minorities, and in particular the developments related to us Hungarians at this time, four months after the revolution we find more or less the following:

"The period starting at the end of December through the second part of January was characterized by unbroken optimism: The revolution for which we fought together appeared to guarantee the realization of all our expectations. The RMDSZ was established, local units were organizing zealously, the first programs were produced, and the reacquisition of minority rights denied earlier began. The National Salvation Front statement released on 5 January projected fundamental changes in regard to minority rights.

"2. The period beginning in the second half of January and continuing all the way through mid-March may be regarded as the second period. Certain contradictions emerged in this time, tension developed in certain counties regarding school issues. The process that started before stalled. An organization named Vatra Romanasca appeared; it questioned our organization's program and goals under the pretext of protecting the Romanians of Transylvania and defending the territorial integrity of the country. More than once they attributed to us endeavors that were entirely alien to us. Despite this fact, the organizing work of our Association progressed and produced good results; the third national meeting of delegates held in Sepsiszentgyorgy represented important progress in terms of both organizational issues and general thought.

"3. The tragic days at Marosvasarhely after 15 March constitute a separate chapter in this period. As in any tragedy involving a community, in this case we find several contributing factors in the background. In analyzing the events one cannot avoid asking: How great a responsibility do we bear for provoking these events? There could hardly be a different response than to say that one has to distinguish between fault and consequence. In and of themselves, neither the peaceful commemoration of 15 March, nor the demand made by the students of the Institute of Medical Science were mistaken. Nevertheless, under circumstances in which an accident caused by a drunk driver during a demonstration, or a Hungarian language sign on the facade of a pharmacy, could generate unthinkable rumors and hostile feelings—thanks to mass communications, in response to mass manipulation, these events may have

provided a pretext for the tragic clashes. We must state clearly: Primary responsibility for the Marosvasarhely events does not rest with the Hungarian and the Romanian populace of the city. It rests with certain actors in the background who did not try to avert conflict, but wanted to exploit conflict for their own purposes.

"Respected congress, I believe that this is the proper time for us to express our profound regret for Andras Suto's inability to be among us: to once again express solidarity with him, to wish him recovery, and to declare that his suffering lends a historic dimension to the symbolic value of both the writer and his work.

"4. As a result of the Marosvasarhely events, the activities of our Association for the enforcement of the rights of Hungarians in Romania entered a new phase. Certain illusions were dispelled, and the period of unbroken optimism expired. These were replaced by sober clear sight, by the need to make a responsible reexamination. In my view our goal and programs need not be changed. Instead we must take our situation into account with serious objectivity, the present state of consciousness of Romanian society, the color composition of the political power, and the chances of the democratization process. We must take into account the fact that political pluralism is not yet democracy, it is only a precondition for democracy. In this sense, I feel that we took the appropriate action when in the initial weeks following the revolution we cooperated with the National Salvation Front, because we envisioned the Front as the chief moving force for the evolution of democracy, and as the guarantee for regaining minority rights. We welcomed with pleasure the political principles and the program concerning minorities included in the Front's January Statement; we must state, however, that the Provisional Council of the National Alliance and the government did not realize most of these guarantees. Taken as a whole, the conduct of the highest organs of state power in regard to minority issues revealed inconsistency regarding essential issues, they manifested hesitation and uncertainty in decisive moments, they postponed the substantive settlement of issues and thus aggravated the situation. As a result, the RMDSZ also had reservations concerning the organs which exercise state power, and regarding the National Salvation Front as a political movement. It had reservations, but I must say, it still has reservations.

"On the other hand, we must establish the fact that none of the significant political parties has thus far developed a comprehensive program regarding the minority issue, one that rests on a democratic outlook. This explains why the voicing of a few properly interpreted fundamental theses in statements made by politicians and in various media of the parties' press is constantly interlaced with a mass of misinterpretations, false tenets, aggressive warnings, and outright slander. There are many reasons for this phenomenon. Should we regard the brevity of time, the delay caused by the urgent tasks of organizing, as the first such reason? Undoubtedly, postrevolutionary Romanian political life is short on

regularly expressed political doctrines based on a uniform outlook, or we could say that these doctrines are just evolving during the weeks prior to the elections. Nevertheless, there are some answers regarding the issue that affects us, answers that come closer to the essence of the matter:

"1. The state of democratic institutions is still unsettled. Following the December turnaround political parties were formed, a free press was born, the freedom of assembly and to organize became practice in society, and the democratic character of the provisional parliament gained strength. Nevertheless, to this day these institutions have not become sufficiently firm foundations for democracy due to their unsettled character and because of the ambiguous nature of mutually exerted effects, including disturbances regarding the democratic functioning of the right to comment, to criticize, and to control. This is because these institutions themselves are also struggling with contradictions.

"2. With elections approaching, overtly or covertly the phenomena of a struggle for power gain strength. We may include among these the objective, rational view of reality, the increasing number of ideological concepts which replace the analysis of facts in society, in regard to political texts the abuse of certain mass communication channels for manipulative purposes, the occasionally extreme abuse of the freedom of the press, and the entry of political pressure into the sphere of decisionmaking.

"3. The minority issue itself, and within that in particular the issue concerning Hungarians, became a part of this multifactor political game exposed to many kinds of conflicting effects. The decisive feature of this is a slowing down of the settlement of this issue, the delaying of promised measures. The other feature is that this issue is being "socialized" in a peculiar fashion, in other words a certain mass pressure is being prompted by certain interest groups, and through the intervention of personalities whose opinion counts.

"4. Among the circumstances which render the resolution of minority issues more difficult, we must not forget about the lack of experiential knowledge gained by European democracies. This applies both to the present power structure and to Romanian public opinion. One of the gravest burdens imposed by communist totalitarianism is the lack of information which flowed from the country's isolation. (...) A rapidly changing Europe achieved noteworthy results during the past decades in terms of both theoretical research, and establishing laws, institutional systems, and systems of guarantees which ensure minority rights. As far as we are concerned here, in Romania, nothing can serve as a substitute for this except for the actual possession and full application of this experience. In terms of a European perspective, together with our Romanian friends who think in terms of democracy and human dignity, we will not respond to fatigue, despair, and fear before we achieve this goal.

"My Honored friends!

"I have not presented a report, and to an even lesser extent have I recounted events. I have shared a few of my concerns, I have provided a sketch of a few of my thoughts. Having concluded my statement I look with confidence at the RMDSZ election sign. Our strength is being put to a great test. The late May elections must prove the vitality and the political action capability of Hungarians in Romania. For ourselves, for the country, and for the cause of democracy, for freedom and equality in Romania.

"A home in the homeland! Unity holds the future!"

[26 Apr pp 1, 3]

[Text] We would like to present the abbreviated minutes of the congress based on notes taken by our associates.

It Gained Respect in Romania

During the morning hours of the first day, following Geza Domokos' introductory speech, Laszlo Tokes, the bishop of the Reformed Church district from the Kira-lyhago area, asked to be heard. He began his remarks by saying that he would briefly report on his latest trip abroad, and about the negotiations he had conducted on behalf of Hungarians in Romania. He viewed the need to cultivate foreign relations as important, particularly in regard to countries in the Central European region where so-called communist countries find themselves in crises and are unable to recover from their situation on their own strength and to join Europe. He was aware of this fact when he departed abroad, and he found that the distribution of information and publicity was important from the standpoint of achieving the goal. In every place he endeavored to familiarize people with the Romanian view and to awaken the interest of politicians because he discovered how little they knew about us, how small our weight is in the United States. He talked about Romania, about the minorities, about the situation of Hungary and the RMDSZ everywhere; he took advantage of every occasion to draw attention to our country. It so happened that the Marosvasarhely events took place at that time. He informed the leaders of the United States of America concerning those events. Wherever he went he expressed his views at meetings, presentations, and press conferences. That is why those three weeks he spent abroad became so crowded. He feels that he gained recognition and respect for Romania, the revolution, the Hungarian people, and the Reformed Church, and succeeded in building mutual relationships. This information provision was not idyllic, of course; it was rather critical in nature, because we must depart from the old practice when everything was presented in a favorable light. The information provision also had a polemic character, because many false tenets prevail concerning us in the world. The other purpose of our travels was to seek aid for our homeland so that we may succeed in our renewal and that we may ascend to democracy. He stressed the importance of humanitarian aid from the United States and Canada, starting with collections, the provision of funds, and going all the way to support

provided in the form of developed technology, in regard to matters concerning schools and scholarships, and in the cultural field. After recounting the specific plans for offering help in the spirit of partnership, the Bishop stressed that in the future, in return for the help we receive, we must learn to utilize and to administer the best we can the benefits we receive. He separately called attention to the Romanian and the Hungarian emigrations, underscoring the fact that the emigrants must be convinced of the reality of our situation by providing them with information. In his experience, members of the emigration manifested a higher level of morality than what is described by Romanian official circles. Not for a moment did he conceal the fact that the grant of nationalities rights is the key issue with respect to democracy, moreover it is the universal problem of Europe as a whole. Waves of emigration may come about which will entirely upset the existing balance unless this problem is resolved. That is why this matter is not an internal affair. It is the business of Europe as a whole, and of the entire progressive world.

Speaking of the Marosvasarhely events, Tokes told the meeting that along with the provision of information he urged that observers be dispatched to learn reality directly at the scene of the events. He sensed a threat that these tensions would spread, and that they would endanger free elections. The imminent Copenhagen conference promises to be important. It will underscore the importance of collective minority rights. During his journey he tried everywhere to chart the spirit of acquiescence. In Canada, for example, he obtained information concerning the reality of bilingual [existence]. In North America his attention was drawn to ethnic pluralism, to the adherence to ethnic affiliation. Keeping this in mind he traveled to Pozsony [Bratislava] to the international conference on politics and ethics initiated by president Vaclav Havel. It is the Bishop's view that the most conscious, most progressive forces must join together throughout the world to jointly overcome the dangers that threaten us. As an epilog, he sincerely regrets the lack of understanding manifested by the Romanian press. During his travels not a single Romanian reporter came to see him; at the same time, however, one may read much interpretation, incorrect explanation, and slander. The main topic of concern is the origin of the funds which paid for his trip and the question of whom he was representing. In addition to press reactions, Tokes is preserving a collection of letters written in the Romanian language. This is of representative value, because it is filled with defamation. Ninety percent of the letters were written anonymously. He is convinced that these letters were not written by the Romanian people, and the sudden concern for his parish expressed by most of the writers is characteristic. All of these writers want to return him to his flock, calling on him not to represent anyone. They forget about the fact that every Romanian citizen has a right to express his views on any issue. He is being slandered by claims to the effect that he is "the general of a foreign power," or that he went to the West to organize the detachment of

Transylvania from Romania. They also distort his views expressed relative to the most favored nation principle. As is known, the Americans make the grant of the most favored nation status dependent on the existence of democracy and respect for human rights. This is a general basic principle to which the Americans adhere by all means. Tokes made a simple reference within this basic principle to the minority aspect of the principle, in the context of democracy and human rights. He finds that the reaction of the country's leaders to this statement is odd, particularly because it was this leadership which in its January statement promised rights to the minorities. Tokes was particularly happy about the fact that wherever he went he was honored as a Romanian hero, and as a minister only as a secondary matter. In the Western view no split consciousness exists on the basis of which a person's belonging to an ethnic group would prevent him from representing his country, the country in which he lives. He was received as a Romanian citizen who is both a Hungarian and a member of the Reformed Church. He also regards the attack launched against him by the Kolozsvar newspaper ADEVARUS IN LIBERTATE as curious. The article demands that criminal proceedings be initiated against 10 Hungarian personalities, including himself, because of the Marosvasarhely events. The paper demands that persons involved in the incident be investigated.

We Propose to the Congress...

According to Lajos Kantor, editor in chief of the Kolozsvar newspaper KORUNK, the congress is understandably wavering between pathos and a [illegible word] grotesque mood. Some believe that these functions have been manipulated, that they are of the old type, and this must be changed. He also received a letter from the delegation which regards his remarks as antidemocratic because he did not coordinate his intentions with the community. Accordingly, he made the point that he was speaking only on his own behalf. He reported on his adventures in the capital. He arrived directly from the writers association congress to Nagyvarad, and hoped that some more moderate voices could also have been discovered in the Romanian press, relative to the Romanian-Hungarian relationship. In his view, sobriety is very important in regard to this issue, but radicalism cannot be set aside either. In his further remarks he felt that it was appropriate to read a statement that appeared in ERDELYI HIRADO that was publicized at the RMDSZ national forum, dated Easter, 1990.

"Statement Concerning the Common Land—Against National Totalitarianism"

"Invoking [the principles of] freedom, dignity, and universal human rights, we protest the fact that in a "free" Romania, discrimination against minorities—Hungarians, Germans, Gypsies, and Serbians—has not ceased to exist. One hundred days after the fall of the dictatorship, a month after the tragic events at Marosvasarhely, and a few days before the RMDSZ holds its

first congress in Nagyvarad, we find it necessary to firmly and openly point out the following:

- Hungarians of Transylvania have lived on this land for more than a thousand years, and, irrespective of disputes among historians, they regard Transylvania as their home jointly inhabited by Romanians and other nationalities. Consequently, any statement that national minorities residing on this "ancient Romanian land" may acquire rights only as a result of the generosity of the Romanian people is unacceptable. Such statements are being made by the Vatra Romaneasca Association, the newly formed National Unity Party of Romanians in Transylvania, or by other legal entities or individuals, and more recently by certain representatives of the National Salvation Front. Along with the common past we attribute decisive importance to our role and to the common sacrifice of blood in the December 1989 revolution which had its start at Temesvar [Timisoara].
- We object to the actions taken by Parliament and the government by which they assign responsibility for the supervision of the resolution of political and legal issues related to the minorities to an organization which claims this authority for itself, so that it may represent the interests of the Romanian national majority against persons and organizations belonging to the minority, so they claim. By supporting the patronizing activities of the Vatra Romaneasca, the government sanctions that organization's fascist program, one that attempts to replace communist totalitarianism with national totalitarianism.
- In regard to more recent homogenizing endeavors we point out that we adhere to our linguistic and ethnic cultural identity which links us to the entire Hungarian nation, and that we wish to nurture such relations with the parent nation. But our endeavors do not threaten Romania's territorial integrity. On the contrary, we resist any and all outside manipulation which would make Hungarians of Romania serve purposes that are alien to their intentions. We find it necessary to make this clear because in recent times, and particularly since the mid-March events in Szatmar [Satu Mare] and Marosvasarhely, a series of accusations have been made in the framework of irresponsible statements made by persons in positions of responsibility, according to which citizens of Hungary are behind the bloody conflicts.
- The RMDSZ is an interest protection group which struggles for the enforcement of the individual and collective rights of Hungarians in Romania, following several decades in which Hungarians of Romania were deprived of their rights. It is certainly not an extremist organization. The RMDSZ is willing to engage in real dialogue with representatives of all Romanian parties concerning these matters, as well as in regard to issues involving the economic and political situation in which Romania as a whole finds itself. But we are not willing to engage in unprincipled negotiations. We

must not tolerate manipulation by news organs which distort our intentions and actions. We object to the idea that the Marosvasarhely events be investigated and judged by a judicial body whose members, in close cooperation with the Securitate, tolerated and supported for decades the continuous deprivation of minority rights, as well as abuses and violations of law. For this reason we demand that the Marosvasarhely events and the legal status of the minority be examined and made public by a nonpartisan, international committee of jurists. Also with this action we wish to contribute to halting the new wave of emigration.

- We are forwarding our statement and protests to the UN Committee on Human Rights, to Helsinki Watch, to the offices of Amnesty International, and to the Council of Europe.
- Signed in Kolozsvar: Sandor Balazs, Eva Cs Gyimesi, Gyorgy Galfalvi, Lajos Kantor, Sandor Kanyadi, Laszlo Kiraly, Aladar Laszloffy, Bela Marko, Istvan Szilagyi."

The speaker considered it important that he read the statement so that the congress could consider whether it would adopt the statement as its own resolution, or if the statement would remain an expression of the nine original signatories. Thereafter he expressed agreement with the watchword that calls for unity ("Unity Holds the Future!"), but stressed that he would not agree to unprincipled unity. Pluralism will take hold in the organization, but the most important thing is to preserve our membership and the weight of the association. For this reason we must change our work style; individual ambitions must take a back seat. Although careerist manifestations did not take place with respect to the present leadership, such tendencies did exist. Criticism concerning the aging of the leadership are appropriate, by all means. The leadership must be rejuvenated, and even that must be done primarily from an intellectual standpoint. It is important that the congress perform its work in this spirit, and not on the basis of what has become usual, that is to enumerate our grievances. The person commenting regarded the decision concerning the headquarters of the organization as rather important. Considering all points of view, the accusations thus far, the geographical situation, and the political reality, he recommended that the congress resolve that for the following year the RMDSZ will have its headquarters both in Kolozsvar and in Bucharest. In his view the tasks may be divided so as to satisfy the needs.

The Majority Is Dispersed

Roman Catholic priest Laszlo Sikli from Szilagysomlyo [Simleu Silvaniei] remained within the religious scope and said that the association is called to do more than protect interests. It is a joyful, but at the same time sad phenomenon that in today's Europe one must protect interests. As if we had lost our own roots. There is no interest protection without Christianity. The approach must flow from piety. This is because we live in a

Christian Europe and we must not tear ourselves away from our own roots. Thus, Romania cannot deny itself either. We must belong to Europe, otherwise the "Christian" adjective in the parties' names will easily fade away. Also the RMDSZ' future will be secured only if it approaches the issues with more modesty and with Christian consciousness. It will not suffice to give profane answers to the questions. The response to be provided by both the faithful and agnostics must be identical. In this way the organization's cause will become a common cause.

Laszlo Laszlo from Zilah [Zalau] told the meeting that SZILAGYSAGI SZO, established after the revolution, has become the newspaper of the local organization. He requested that county organizations be granted more independence. He stressed that the issues pertaining to Hungarians in Romania emerge in peculiar ways, depending on the area in which they are raised. There are bloc areas, half-and-half areas, and dispersions. Work must be organized correspondingly, based on what we have learned from the MISZSZ and MIDESZ [not further expanded]. In his view the RMDSZ is not a mammoth organization, he wishes it would be more of a mammoth organization! In regard to proposals concerning headquarters locations he favors Kolozsvár as Transylvania's intellectual center, but "a negotiating embassy" must also exist in the capital, to work alongside the government and the country's leadership. He recommended that elected leaders represent the membership, and the appropriate persons to serve as leaders must be found. At the same time we must endeavor to have our own university. Having our young educated abroad is no solution, because many would not return—we would run out of the supply and soon there will be no intelligentsia.

According to Odon Bitay from Bucharest, arguing about headquarters locations amounts to sheer sophism, because Hungarians reside in Romania throughout the country and not just in Transylvania. Moreover, the majority are dispersed. Personal problems stand behind the headquarters issue: Who will provide leadership? But if we build a grassroots organization the various areas do not require a high level of leadership, all they need is a common program. From a practical standpoint, the headquarters of each organization is an individual headquarters, responsive to local needs. The deliberating body, the presidium, can bring resolutions consistent with trends determined by principles. Leadership to be provided by a single person or a smaller body is out of the question. The leadership thus far cannot be blamed for this. How many times did organizations in the countryside receive assistance when they turned to us? They did not receive commands, because we did not issue commands. Could they have forgotten? At present our association is facing both external and internal difficulties. There is no understanding regarding the power factory on the one hand, while ambition and the generational conflict raise concern on the other. I have also tried to explain before to the young in the MISZSZ

and in the Union of Hungarian Democratic Youth [MADISZ] that a generational conflict may exist only on a personal basis. When it comes to ossification, to intellectual paralysis, the situation that presents itself is much more of a kind in which we have young old people as well as old young people. It appears that each session we hold provides strength. Just consider the understanding we had during the Marosvasarhely days! We must be an open organization, so that we can establish pluralism internally, but we must watch so that we do not confuse matters—the reason for our meeting today is not exactly a happy carnival. Our organization will be of the kind we make it to be.

Attila Zonda of Maramarossziget [Sighet Marmatiei] tried to define the concerns of dispersed Hungarians. This is necessary because barely half of the Hungarians in Romania reside in compact settlements. In his view a minority ratio of between one to 25 percent serves as the criterion for the dispersion character of a given area. Thus, it is far more difficult to take action. He asks the next leadership to provide assistance to dispersed Hungarians to adopt more suitable tactics. As far as the future is concerned, he expressed confidence. He compared the minority with a pine tree which withstands the tests of life, and in addition is also evergreen.

LATO editor in chief Bela Marko of Marosvasarhely stressed that he agreed with Geza Domokos' diagnosis and added that the Marosvasarhely events cannot be regarded as a conflict between ethnic groups. Instead, a well prepared aggression was turned into conflict, so as to excite peaceful demonstrators. Many argued about the dialogue that evolved with the Vatra, but later on they recognized the need for that dialogue. "In my view one must negotiate with anyone as long as a resolution can be expected. Instead of [illegible word], this solution came about at the political level. An agreement was reached. This in turn suggests that we achieved results, even though centers of tension did not cease to exist. Because although we made tactical mistakes, we were not the cause of these mistakes; the series of provocations cannot be traced back just a few weeks. There were signs already in January; in February we recognized the threat and from then on we cautioned the persons having authority. It is worthwhile to draw conclusions on the basis of this dialogue. We were unable to react in a coordinated fashion, we did not recognize threats lurking around us. The parliamentary committee chose the best possible solution when it requested all of us to submit separate package solutions, and then classified the problems into three different categories: some that could be remedied locally, and others which may be remedied before and after the elections respectively."

In Marko's view a few general conclusions may also be drawn, and these pertain to public information. Mass media succeeded in rekindling the existing ashes of nationalism into a substantial flame. The need calls for the development of a press service both at the central and the county levels. We felt a great need for such a press service during the hot days, but it did not exist. The

other lesson to be learned is that as long as the independence of organizations works in the cultural and social sphere, under present circumstances political direction can produce results only within a hierarchical structure. Although slowly, such a hierarchy did come about in the aftermath of the Marosvasarhely conflict. Unless we coordinate, a crisis situation like this may occur at any time. In regard to headquarters, it was Marko's view that presence in Bucharest is by all means necessary, at least in the form of an operations office as long as the present state structure exists. It is equally true that the leadership requires a more pronounced presence in Transylvania. At the same time, it is also important that there be an opportunity for pluralist organizational transformation.

The Afternoon of Doubts

The first day continued after lunch in the chambers of the Endre Ady Lyceum. The specialized committees were holding meetings. Between 60 and 70 minutes of time was provided for debate, and the rush of these meetings put the debaters' tolerance to the test. Since we intend to report on the specialized committee meetings in a peculiar way, let us transcend these in time and let us sit down once again in the cultural auditorium of the trade union palace. Ferenc Formanek presiding over the session is becoming increasingly insistent on calling on delegates who conversed and argued in the ante room, to come inside....

Laszlo Ori of Hunyad [Hunedoara] County was next to comment. He expressed thanks to the hosts on behalf of those who arrived from other places, for the hospitality and for the good organizing work. He stressed that in the course of their work they were unable to act in a manner similar to those in Csik [Ciuc], [Szekely]Udvarhely or Marosvasarhely. One has to adjust more to the majority, even if one does not want to compromise instantly. They have a headquarters building, but at the same time they feel orphaned. No one calls them unless they call; management is missing. In his view the national headquarters should be located in Bucharest, but there should be an information center in Kolozsvár, so that one need not run back and forth to Bucharest for everything. He recommended that the Romanian language also be taught in Hungarian schools by the best teachers, and the educational programs should be differentiated on the basis of whether the school operates in a dispersion or a compact area. In his view the RMDSZ must stress the importance of the elections, because our work will have been in vain unless we succeed.

Elek Jakab of Medgyes [Medias] stated in advance that his remarks will be made in a critical tone of voice, but that he criticizes only for the sake of improvements. We have missed the beginning of the campaign, we do not know our candidates, and we are helpless insofar as presidential elections are concerned. Appropriate propaganda materials are lacking. The RMDSZ has been established but it is not capable of functioning. No information office is functioning, there is no list of

telephone numbers. The Association's Kolozsvár newspaper ERDELYI HIRADO does not reach the organizations. Those who live in the same place could provide more help, because there are few professionals among those in Szeben [Sibiu]. Only a few persons in the leadership are aware of the fact that the headquarters of the county organization is located in Medgyes. Keeping in mind the upcoming wave of unemployment and those who will find themselves in the streets, he recommended the establishment of an RMDSZ trade union. Aside from that it would be very important for the Association to establish a financial base. He asked the help of counties which have theaters to pay a visit, because no theatrical production has been performed in the Szeben area for the past two years.

Zoltan Kis of Kolozsvár reported on behalf of the Bolyai Society about the circumstances of their establishment, and about their admitted goal to act in the interest of Hungarian higher education in Romania, in the spirit of international documents concerning minority rights now in force. Still this year they would like to make Hungarian higher education in Romania a reality. They request the congress' support insofar as educational program plans are concerned. The purpose of all of this is to present a sensible perspective to Hungarian youth in Romania.

Imre Andras from Szatmar believes that in their county reversal has gained strength. The accumulation of incited tensions, like in the case of Marosvasarhely, raises concern. In his further remarks Andras provided a factual report concerning the antecedents, progression, and after effects of the 15 March events in Szatmar. (Editor's note: at this time we will omit this report because at the time of the events we presented on the scene reports about the regrettable conflict, and we would only be repeating ourselves.) The result is that the county leadership does not take the RMDSZ seriously. They banned bilingual signs by way of a memorandum, claiming certain laws as the basis for their action. The county leadership stressed the importance of dialogue several times, but it did not take our intentions into consideration. In the village of Halmi [Halmeu] for instance, the mayor did not comply with the instruction concerning bilingual signs. He received a third threatening letter.

Zoltan Szilagyi of Beszterce [Bistrita] informed the meeting that even though they are working in a tense atmosphere, they have begun the election campaign in order to obtain at least 10,000 to 12,000 votes. "False rumors are being spread throughout the city, we are being intimidated, and we are not getting anywhere in regard to the school issue." He proposed that headquarters be established in the capital, at the same time there should be subsidiary centers in Kolozsvár and in Marosvasarhely. He requested the new leadership to continue protecting our interests.

Gabor Hajdu of Csikszereda [Mieucurea Ciuc] was shocked to learn the situation report from Szatmar. In

his view, a position must be taken if the report is true as it was told. In his view the leadership of our organization evaded the analysis of the Marosvasarhely events, because it wants to wait for the government committee's report. He recommended that the congress adopt the statement read by Kantor about the common land, and that the headquarters of the organization should be both Kolozsvár and Bucharest. In his view the fact that in regard to the events of the recent past the press accomplished a virtual diversion as a result of false reports, raises great concern. Unfortunately, even today there appear false statements which compromise Hargita [Harghita] County. "One example: in reality we conducted dialogue with the Kolozsvár and local Vatra leadership groups, but the news agency did not report what transpired at the negotiations, but commented instead, putting words we never spoke into our mouths. The dialogue was educational; they suggested, for instance, that immediately following the revolution some 227 Romanian educational cadres departed suddenly. They asked: How could this be explained? We told them that in the course of the academic years spanning 1985 and 1989, 462 educational workers were appointed in Hargita County, of which 442 had Romanian as their native tongue and only 20 were Hungarians. Quite naturally, most of them taught in the Hungarian department, without speaking the Hungarian language, in Romanian. Only 10,030 students studied in Romanian language lyceums at the beginning of the 1989/90 school year. A quarter of these had Romanian as their native tongue, three quarters were Hungarians. Meanwhile, there was room only for 5,000 students in sections where teaching took place in Hungarian. We tried to convey all these matters to the central press, but they disregarded our communications." He requested that proceedings be initiated based on the press law still in force against newspapers which make false, slanderous, and inciting statements. At the same time, he announced that the majority population in Hargita County manifest tolerance to Romanians residing there, and they request the same treatment for Hungarians from majorities residing in other areas.

[27 Apr pp 1, 3]

[Text] The second part of our condensed, nevertheless detailed notebook prepared on the scene ended halfway through the Saturday evening session of the congress, following the remarks of Gabor Hajdu, the first speaker from Csíkszereda.

Separate Opinions?

Benedek Nagy was the next speaker. He spoke up against the Hungarian exodus from Romania, a phenomenon that has become widespread during the past weeks. If this continues at the present pace we will have gotten rid of the country by the year 2010. He suggested that we adopt a proclamation, a statement of principle which calls on Hungarians of Romania not to choose emigration as the means by which to resolve their minority existence. Two strata in particular should be protected:

youth and the intelligentsia, otherwise our average age will increase. He said: "I could present very many arguments against departing, I have conversed a lot with people who have left the country at one time or another, and I have not found a single one who was satisfied. The situation would be even more grave if the intelligentsia leaves its people, thereby contributing to the decapitation, to the prevalence of a panic atmosphere, to mass escape. We are seeking rights, but we forget that as a community we also have obligations. It is possible that we, who want to live here, are not more brave, it's just that we are unable to simply discard our fate like a soiled shirt. Could a person who does not serve his people be a member of the intelligentsia? Only a petty bourgeois perception holds that a child from the intelligentsia is worth anything only if he completes his higher education, and only if he does so abroad. Let us do everything possible to halt the exodus."

Erno Borbely of Csíkszereda called attention to the importance of foreign relations, despite the fact that these may easily create adverse feelings among outsiders. But at this time, this matter is not the principle of generals placed in the service of foreign powers, it is the goal of Europe. We are not in a position to entrust our representation at international forums to others. We must join the various international organizations, such as the European Nationalities Union, the UN, etc. True, this would require the agreement of all Hungarians in Transylvania, but the RMDSZ, as the largest Hungarian organization, could accept this task. He expressed surprise over the fact that one could find everything among the specialized committees, except one that dealt with foreign affairs. He proposed that the Association deal with this problem seriously.

According to Dezso Garda of Gyergyószentmiklós [Gheorgheni], the Bucharest headquarters does not give consideration to the Székely land, and forces upon that area the dispersion status. He proposed that there should be in the future a Székely coordinating committee, there should exist a body which deals with half-and-half areas, and another which deals with dispersion areas. Thus it would be possible to avoid various hasty solutions. The approaching elections present the most urgent program. We do not know what to do in regard to presidential elections. For whom should we vote? Will we have a presidential candidate? It does make a difference for whom I cast my vote.

János Ujj from Arad invoked the watchword "Unity Holds the Future!" and called attention to manifestations produced as a result of positions that were not coordinated, and thus may hinder our work, unless we clarify these. Thus, for example, we saw Karoly Király on television committing himself to the Front. The same was done by Attila Palfalvy. In Ujj's view this was inappropriate; we should not commit ourselves to an organization which does not represent our policies.

In his brief remarks Gyula Pavai said that in Arad matters are progressing slowly but surely. The renewed

organization of the Kolcsey society represents a serious step forward, and so does the publication of the monthly CULTURAL REVIEW. They are making an effort to invite persons of note. He stressed that one need not believe every promise, and particularly not during the election campaign. He agreed with Lajos Kantor insofar as the proclamation was concerned.

Adam Katona from Szekelyudvarhely began his remarks by saying that we endeavor to reach Europe, and therefore reform communists must not represent us. Most RMDSZ members are Christian faithful, accordingly we must (also) belong to the universal Christian democracy. The organization should also have a reform communist wing, but the leadership should be designated consistent with the majority of the membership. In the opposite case we will remain a particular organization [as published]. If we miss this moment we will be faced with the threat that the Christian and democratic National Peasant Party will be the sole link to Europe, and then we can see for ourselves. He suggested that we elect a leader who has political credibility and who feels at home in Western Europe. In his further remarks Katona stressed that we must orient ourselves toward the world; on occasion we must also ask for help. The Kantor proclamation is a manifestation of this idea; the Kantor proclamation is not just one of many proclamations, and we should return to that matter. He complained about the press' hostile attitude toward the Szekelyudvarhely positions and actions. He called attention to the significance of maintaining relations, and to the fact that we must not issue joint statements with trends and organizations that stand against human beings. How should we interpret the agreements reached with Vatra? And after those agreements how can we look into the eyes of our friends who have democratic feelings, who unequivocally condemn organizations like Vatra? In conclusion he told the congress that the local Balazs Orban cultural society will organize Hungarology Days in the near future, and immediately thereafter they will hold the sixth dance house meeting, a function that was banned many years ago. He invited interested persons to both events.

Barna Bodo of Temesvar stressed that the most important term for us is "responsibility." We must think through the condition in which this country finds itself. We must work in such a way as to seek connection with regard to every request that involves us, and we should discuss every matter with such connections. It is unfortunate that we did not do everything possible to achieve democracy, therefore we have little moral basis to hold others accountable for the same. Could we expect others to listen to us when we are not tolerant either? We have accumulated 40, even 70 years of minority experience, and matters that are obvious and clearly understandable to us are not obvious and clearly understandable to others. We must make an opening: How can our statements make an impact unless we explain these? I agree with the statement read out loud by Kantor, but I think it requires corrections. The sense of preparedness in the

absence of which there is no progress is missing from it. Our press is abound with proclamations, but we have not said a word about the manner in which school affairs are resolved throughout the world. Thus the proclamations have no effect. Whatever has been said thus far at this congress pertains to the psychological situation. Let us be tolerant, because our unity must be proven in the course of the campaign, so that we know what has to be said how and where. We must be able to filter our emotions through the strainer of rationality. Our political culture leaves much to be desired. Every person must individually grow into leadership. Managing the RMDSZ is a hard nut to crack, Bucharest cannot be disconnected, nevertheless the most appropriate formula at this time is to have dual headquarters. It seems that in the autumn, at the latest, we will have to hold a new congress, so that we are able to orient ourselves in the postelection situation, and so that we may rearrange our ranks.

Out of order, Laszlo Tokes took the floor to comment on the matter concerning reform communists. He disagreed with raising this demagogic issue on the basis of which e.g. Karoly Kiraly and Gyozo Hajdu would have a common denominator. He stressed that within the total societal picture not even persons from the church have conducted themselves in an exemplary manner. There is no group which can be absolved of responsibility. On what basis can we sort out various people? I regret that I, a minister, must say this, but I would not like to see myself being frustrated, I do not accept this. And I also have reservations concerning point eight of the Temesvar proclamation, because it mentions collective responsibility, whereas human values should be considered in every case.... In regard to Vatra he took note of the fact that the Marosvasarhely group requested initially that the organization be banned, but later on sat down to negotiate with them and issued a statement. It is regrettable that in this matter we are the ones who render this organization socially acceptable. He proposed that the congress take a position in a discerned way, because the organization threatens Romania's credibility in the world. At the same time we should take a position in defense of Dan Petrescu.

Arpad Marton of Nagybanja [Baia Mare] called on the press to henceforth present the truth only, and to hold accountable those who incite the public, consistent with international legal standards.

While the First Press Conference Was Held...

During the congress' intermission (the text of which was presented in No. 102 of this newspaper), a populous army of journalists were squeezed into a studio set up for this purpose. They were awaiting the Association leaders' response. Time passed unnoticed. By the time the last question was answered, debate resumed in the congressional auditorium. For this reason we will be unable to reproduce the comments made by Andras Cziczso of the Csango [Ciangoi] area, Laszlo Kun of Nagyvarad, Lajos Sylvester of Haromszek [Romanian name unknown] and Lazar Madaras of Brasso.

Following these remarks, Ildiko Bucur from Kolozsvár took the floor. She told the meeting that she worked at the technical university, then announced that the RMDSZ activities neglect the political aspects of issues. She was surprised to conclude that on the basis of Odon Bitay's words we were not a political organization, even though we must comprehend that the framework in which we acquire our rights does make a difference. Without wanting to sound demagogic—because she, herself was a party member—she called attention to the fact that communism proved to be a utopia, that it has gone bankrupt and manifested itself as a dictatorship everywhere. If anyone says the opposite we need only look at Lithuania. We must most certainly become involved in politics. I do not want to judge individuals, but one must take an ideological stand, and even if we are in an embryonic stage we must protect the organization from its own mistakes. We must establish relations with the political parties. We must understand that they are not our opponents. She regarded the matter of information provision as very important, so that the many Romanians who harbor good feelings may learn our position. This is why the organization should have a mouthpiece through which it communicates. She recommended that if needed, the congress should consider the publication entitled "Puntea," which they may broaden so as to acquire a national scope. In conclusion she requested that we should not forget about the importance of Hungarian language technical education.

Eva Cs Gyimesi made reference to Sandor Makkai's work "Revising Ourselves" published in 1931 and said that in preparing for the congress she tried to complete the essence of the "revision" process, as that would be applicable in today's situation. For example: According to Makkai one should never blame external circumstances. Instead, we should seek the roots of the mistake in ourselves. Communism contains dictatorship from the outset. Many persons of good will accepted this utopia because it promised harmony between individual and communal interests. She proposed that we face this matter with self criticism, and the honesty of many is beyond doubt. At present, at the threshold of the elections, the image which our outward appearance projects to others is important, the extent to which this image serves the cause of democratizing Romanian society. If there are such reflexes within the RMDSZ, and there are, we must watch ourselves. Such reflexes have become outmoded, and are manifested by, e.g., some statements which joined the statements of others forwarded by county organizations to headquarters, by today's session, and by the fact that quite a few persons apply concepts like majority and minority incorrectly. If we want to prove that we wish to serve the whole of Romanian democracy, we must watch that we do not resemble a left wing organization. Even the party which promised the most carries the threat of reversal. Therefore, it would be risky to support the Front; we should much rather stand beside a party which does not create a dictatorship even if it does not promise much. In her view the Romanian-Hungarian relationship cannot be built on love. Some

guarantees are needed beyond love, which ensure the integrity of my body. We must pursue a minority policy which, along with staying here, also provides rights. Does this have continuity from the past into the present and into the future? Those who perform this work should not dream about a private career, but should regard themselves as serving a cause. Not one speaker discussed the matter of youth. One cannot build a future without asking youth, by evading youth. In conclusion, by paraphrasing a Biblical example she expressed her conviction that if a person wants to hold on to power, the cause, the common cause, will be lost.

Geza Domokos stepped to the microphone to make a statement. He suggested that we clear the slate. Open, candid talk is one of the conditions of democracy. He only regretted that his initiatives have thus far remained only one-sided proposals. Speaking of his life, Domokos said that he was a member of the party central committee until 1984, but he did not want to describe his actions. Whoever knew of this was familiar with his past and therefore did not require much explanation, and those who were not familiar with his past will not learn of his actions from him. In a manner similar to a confession, Domokos told the meeting that during the past four months he has derived no advantages from fighting as head of the Association. What he has received is toil, doubts, torment, and disappointment, and perhaps on occasion some joy. He expressed his regret over the fact that it was not here, and not Eva Gyimesi who would have expressed clearly what was on her mind. She did not name the person who on 22 December proudly pounded his chest, therefore the world may think that she did it. "It will be beneficial to conclude this hide-and-seek game as soon as possible. As I have stated several times before, under no circumstances would I intend to part from the institution I manage: Kriterion [publishers]. These four months have worn me out more than I thought they would. I do not want to burden the Association with the fact that I was a central committee member. I wanted to make this announcement much earlier. In the meantime, however, the Marosvasarhely conflict took place, and I thought it would appear as cowardice if I were to announce my departure at that time. At this time, however, I want to announce: I do not insist that I be nominated by this congress. I will be the first to support a chairman who enjoys the confidence of the majority. I request that you take note of this announcement: I do not want to run as a candidate for chairman. I have also made many mistakes. I myself have learned some politics, like anyone else would in this confused situation. The fact that I could be present at the birth of this Association served as great satisfaction. These four months have been one of the great events in my life. I admit, I was afraid I would not live to see the end of dictatorship. That is why the situation that evolved in the Romanian-Hungarian relationship hurts so much. Hatred, which surfaced at such an early point, came as a surprise to me, and at the same time represents a tragic experience. It is good that I have lived through this brief period. More could have been done, I'm sure,

and I regret that my strength has permitted me to do only this much. As far as that oft-mentioned relationship between the majority and the minority is concerned, this arises in a different way in the everyday practice of minority life; more self discipline may be expected on the minority's part. To recognize this, and to reconcile views is very important. I admit, for example, that I was alarmed by the way this congress started. I thought that everything would turn upside down. And then it turned out that nothing had happened. This was also a reflex, an ossified reflex. I trust that you believe that I am speaking very candidly...."

Domokos had not even concluded his statement when Eva Gyimesi appeared next to him at the microphone to explain that her words were misunderstood. She asked whether the congress understood her words this way, several persons shouted "yes, yes!" and later, somewhat softer from another direction: "No, no!" Gyimesi turned to Domokos and said that a regrettable misunderstanding had occurred. She stressed that she liked Domokos as a person very much and that they were friends, but the way politics go, two people may have high regard for each other even if they do not share the same platform.

Domokos was embarrassed and embraced Gyimesi's shoulders, as if suggesting conciliation to the congressional audience, and the presiding Ferenc Formanek suggested that everyone sleep on this matter so that we may become smarter.

Sunday Morning: Debate Flares Up

The debate that was announced to start at half past eight, but which actually began at half past nine instantly awakened the audience's interest.

Dr. Imre Kapcza from Kolozsvár took the floor. Having taken to heart the statement made the previous evening, he promised clear talk. He structured his message on two foundations: One was the Temesvár proclamation, the other a late December television broadcast. Kapcza was unable to erase from his memory a student broadcast, in which a female student appeared on the screen for a few minutes, while quite a few people were around her in Studio 4. She said that "we do not need communism with a human face." Actually, the Temesvár proclamation holds the same message: an objection to the idea that neocommunists should once again take power. This accurately coincides with the speaker's [Kapcza's] wishes. Eva Cs Gyimesi was correct when she said that the situation must be assessed, to see what the RMDSZ has done since its establishment. Kapcza felt it was curious that some regarded the fact that after four months the Association was able to hold a congress in Nagyvárad as the greatest feat of arms. Indeed, one cannot add up many accomplishments. Kapcza would be filled with joy if someone could deny this statement. In his view the contradictory situation is well characterized by the fact that on 8 January of this year Geza Domokos declared: The Front has publicly and accurately defined

minority rights. This is the statement issued by the Front which this speaker felt was colorless, and which was not even signed and contained no official notation. And then this speaker drafted a statement describing his observations that the chairman of the RMDSZ was not authorized by the Association to negotiate with the chairman of the Front. Because as long as the front was willing to issue only such a superficial statement, it should not have given its name to it, but instead should have announced in a separate statement that we expect to settle the rights of the Hungarian minority in Romania on the basis of legitimate measures. Since then we have witnessed the RMDSZ leadership joining the Front's program and agreeing with the Front's policies. And then there appeared the National Salvation Front platform. They found some room for us in Section 65 of the platform at last. According to that section, minority rights will be evaluated and accorded on an individual basis. According to Mr. Kapcza there were events prior to the Marosvásárhely events which should have made Hungarians think twice about the Front. One was president Iliescu's announcement that Transylvania should be watched because of the separatist endeavors that exist there. On the following day the RMDSZ leadership drafted a note of protest, but it said that we trusted Iliescu. Later, on 13 March, when the session of the Provisional Council of the National Alliance was broadcast, a military officer said that in one of the units soldiers thought that "Transylvania was in trouble." This statement revealed the kind of mood and influence that prevailed at that time within the army in regard to the Hungarian minority. It was a crime not to speak up at that time, even though three provisional representatives of ours were seated in the mini parliament. Then came Marosvásárhely. How could the RMDSZ agree to play a role in a government whose leader states that Vatra is a cultural organization, and who then fails to appear at the scene in a critical situation, but at the same time accepts the services of an amateur investigating committee. After all this, an outsider cannot even understand why Hungarians are complaining: They are in the government, they cooperate with it! With the government which claims that we have a constitutional state but is incapable of complying with international agreements. An example for this is the arbitrary closure of the Hungarian consulate in Kolozsvár and the fact that, ever since, we have been incapable of reopening it. We may all talk about the idea of voting confidence to the old leadership, because it appears that it has nothing to brag about. I was sorry to hear that in the United States and in Canada Laszlo Tokes spoke only of rights which have been promised to us, so to speak. I beg of you: No one should be giving us rights. That is why I welcome Nagyvárad democratic thinker Radu Enescu's study in which he points out that human rights stem from the quality of being human. I do not argue with Tokes' truth, he relates to people in a Christian way, nevertheless we need new people in new times.

According to Gusztav Heredi from Kolozsvár, we have lived through many cataclysmic events, but we have

never found ourselves in a worse situation than now. We do not have a party, institutions, land, or banks. Despite this fact Heredi is confident with regard to the future. We have never had as many good professionals as we now have. Based on this he expressed hope that everything could be rebuilt. The fate history has accorded to Jews fosters hope. During World War II we witnessed the way Jews were taken away, they did not even revolt. Before that they wanted to integrate with society by all means, wherever they lived. Today they have their own state, and besides being good merchants, they have also become a tough military nation. Also we must undergo a deep-rooted change if we want to survive this year. In his further remarks Heredi described the minority situation in the aftermath of World War I. That period was consumed largely by dictatorships; only the middle 1920's were somewhat easier. In his view we must become an independent people, because we have the brains and the courage to do so. We must be independent in every respect. For this reason let us forcefully support privatization. The more assets we have the stronger we will be. The RMDSZ must not be a political organization only, it must be a peak organization in every respect. Only in that way will it truly perform its mission. In conclusion Heredi proposed that every aspect of the program should support mothers and children. In his view there should be two presidiums: one in Kolozsvár and another in Bucharest.

Laszlo Pillich was last to speak from among the Kolozsvár group. He stressed that one need not talk about a loss, like the person who spoke before him, but instead one should talk about creating a home, because many begin to work as heroes after the revolution. He indicated that there are many persons who make statements, and many who just boast. Marosvásárhely has taught us to learn to pursue politics sensibly, rather than on the basis of emotions. We played our part, because we acted as if we had a position. Further he emphasized that the basis of organizational elections will not be the personality issues as some try to make us believe. Although there will be some who must step aside, we should not be carried away. Each of us has compromised to a lesser or greater extent. The issue of responsibility emerges primarily in the present tense, because failures to act and mistakes also occurred during the past four months. Why must it turn out in the last moment, when it is too late, that on our election emblem the colors are gray and black and not red and black, and that the acronym for the organization is RMDSZ and not UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania]. There will be some for whom this creates a problem because they will not be able to understand the reason for the change, and that essentially we are dealing with the same thing. In conclusion Pillich suggested that we should thank our friends from abroad on behalf of Romania for the help we received from them, and in particular from our Hungarian friends.

Peter Eross from Sepsiszentgyörgy, the head of the provisional committee of Csango Hungarians in Moldavia, told the meeting that after so much "Csango business" his people have found their home at last. It appears that even if Messrs Martinas and Coja think otherwise, the Csangos have something to do with Hungarians. The truth is that they were neglected, while the populace in Transylvania had more or less what they needed. According to their statement of intent, the Csango people are in close contact with the RMDSZ. He asked that we let the world know that there are also Hungarians in Moldavia, and that the time has come to give these people what is due to them. Many of them just began to run away from the country, they are scared. But why should we choose the easy way out? According to the teachings of Christ we should find the hard way. Since the Csango people do not speak the Hungarian language well, it would be beneficial if a number of books about them would be provided in the Romanian language. Further, they would need Romanian-Hungarian and Hungarian-Romanian dictionaries, and an interpreting dictionary preferably at a price the Csangos can afford.

The other Csango delegate, Peter Zold, described with a heavy local accent the pivotal problems of their lives. One of the problems pertains to masses in the local language, a matter that should not run into obstacles because their priests are from among them, they are of Csango origin, most of whom do not dare to admit that deep in their hearts they are Hungarians. The other problem is education in the native tongue. He expressed hope that the congress will support them.

"One Should Not Say Only What He Would Like To See or Wants To See"

These were the initial words of Andras Beres from Marosvásárhely. One should say what crystallizes as a result of various views clashing. He stressed that he did not want to avoid the problems that arose Saturday afternoon. Nevertheless, the fact is that at the moment the personality issues represent the chief problems within the RMDSZ. He took this opportunity to thank the Székely counties, and not just the Székely counties, for the help the populace and the local RMDSZ received in conjunction with the Marosvásárhely events. He emphatically called for the attention of those who believe that the Association has nothing to put on the table, that in Marosvásárhely it was the RMDSZ, and not something else that harnessed the events, even though the Marosvásárhely RMDSZ is as inexperienced in politics as in other counties, because in general they are newly established political organizations. This matter was not at all a childish task. That is why he felt bad when a few people coming from a pure Hungarian milieu expressed opinions as to how they would resolve a problem they did not experience from within, i.e. were unfamiliar with the reality. In his view many of our concerns and troubles are marked by this attitude. At this congress there were many who made reference to the idea that the Hungarians' interest representation must be defended against Geza Domokos or others. He said that

this was an mistake: The fundamental interests of Hungarians in Romania must be preserved in a coordinated fashion. His starting point was that the RMDSZ was a federated association within which people hold several kinds of interest and positions. He called attention to the fact that personnel must be secured from main political groupings, and firmly rejected the idea that this be replaced with another kind of totalitarianism! Even at this point it is not too late to establish contacts with other forces. He suggested that we not commit ourselves with regard to presidential elections, and that we not permit any given wing of the RMDSZ to simply expropriate power for itself!

[28 Apr pp 1, 3]

[Text] We are publishing the abbreviated minutes of the workings of the congress based on notes taken by our associates.

Are We Observing Ordinary People?

This was the rhetorical question raised Sunday afternoon by Marosvasarhely delegate Gyorgy Galfalvi. He regards the clarifying of member relations, of contacts with people, as the movement's most important concern. We are not paying sufficient attention to them, he said; we are not sufficiently representing their positions, we are not taking care of them, and we are not observing their interests well enough to prevent the exodus. In his view people are not sufficiently informed at meetings and through the press about all the matters that preoccupy the leadership. We are being manipulated by our own efforts and by the fact that we operate below standards. We left people in an uncertain frame of mind; we did not care for them. Many of us recognize that the atmosphere, the attitudes are frozen around us. We must abandon this elitist attitude as soon as possible, and in the course of elections we should observe the need that all those who will elect us should be able to have confidence in us. In his further remarks Galfalvi requested permission to repeat a few of his thoughts which he provided in response to a round of questions raised prior to the congress by the periodical KELET-NYUGAT. If it were up to him he would prefer to hand over the entire RMDSZ movement to the youth, to the MISZSZ. He has this much confidence in their competence, their knowledge, and their purity. It is perhaps only with regard to personal preferences that he disagrees with them, but this is not an essential issue. Nevertheless, he considered it to be important to state that nothing good would result from trying to replace one totalitarian system with another. The cause which ties us together is more important. He is not pleased with the idea that we challenge each other in regard to the cause, under the pretext of democracy, by providing arguments based on democracy. The speaker [Galfalvi] always felt that people who made such challenges were suspect. He advocated openness in every case, to regard consistency as the guiding principle. In expressing agreement with youth, he would also like to convince youth of the need to think through

the image projected to the outside world by an organization which liquidates its own core of personnel. Even as an atheist Galfalvi has high regard for Laszlo Tokes and agrees with him when he says that we should underscore the importance of value. For this reason he recommended that the congress reelect Geza Domokos to head the movement, precisely on grounds of the watchword: "Clean People and Clean Ideals!"

On Behalf of the "Vocal Minority"

Istvan Csutak of Csikszereda came to the congress on behalf of the MISZSZ. He asked the meeting to take a second look at the watchword that appears on the left side of the stage: "A Home in the Homeland!" Because if we do not aim for everyone finding a home, it may easily happen that the watchword on the right hand side will come true—with an added letter of course: [the letter added to the Hungarian equivalent of the word "unity" presents the watchword as] "The Mountains Hold the Future!" Unfortunately, tolerance is missing within smaller groups. The Smallholders and the Christian Democrats also appeared. But no one should claim the right to represent the rest of the minorities. Everyone's opinion should be heard. The group that is sarcastically called "the vocal minority" by the majority stands for a change in the system. Quite naturally, a reckoning with people in a campaign-like manner is out of the question. The entire process must be pursued rationally, without emotions. On the other hand, there is a need for democratization within the leadership. We must do something, because the youth are leaving by the hundreds for lack of hope. Many return at the same time. In conclusion he proposed that in regard to headquarters locations, Kolozsvár should be dealing with ideology, while Bucharest should score high marks in parliamentary battles.

Zsolt Szilagyi, the other MISZSZ representative, continued the line of thought started by his colleague: Why are the youth leaving? Because they have no future, because they are not being defended. We should pay increased attention to the youth. There should be more young people in leadership positions. He expressed special appreciation to Eva Gyimesi for stating that there is a great need for young people and that it would be advisable to pay attention to the youth. Also in their eyes, the cause is the most important thing. This is followed by the interests held by the youth, and only thereafter do we recognize differences of opinion. Many inquired whether the MISZSZ was united in its workings. The answer: Not the way it would be seen from the old perspective. We agreed to cooperate with the RMDSZ because we did not want to act as a destructive opposition. We expect the same protection of minorities within the RMDSZ as Hungarians expect for themselves in all of Romania. The speaker commented separately in response to Gyorgy Galfalvi's idea which flattered the youth, and assured the congress that the MISZSZ is not bold enough to not exercise self criticism. He could not fulfill the role slated for him. He felt that it was sad that the elections did not occupy a central place during the congress. He found that part of the Hungarian populace

is disappointed with the RMDSZ. It would not hurt for everyone to exercise self criticism, nevertheless we are simply passing over this matter. That is why they suggested the establishment of the separate special committee at the congress.

No Longer Bound By a Promise

Attila Verestoy is no longer bound by a promise regarding Marosvasarhely, and for that reason he wishes to deal with that matter, particularly because many questions about it were raised during the congress. Since he became a member of the government committee he has reached a spectacular agreement with everyone on the television screen that he is therefore no longer bound by the pledge either. In addition to that, some Romanian language papers are making popular another version of the classified text. Unfortunately, henceforth we will be the target of a successfully guided central campaign. It is not at all easy to make our truth prevail. We were not sufficiently attentive either; the national leadership took no note of internal contexts beginning in December. We did not notice that the Front was a conglomerate whose pure policy slowly fell into a trap in response to the actions of a professional corps which manipulates great masses of people to achieve reversal. It is the speaker's firm view that in Marosvasarhely they were also dealing with an organized action. In addition to quite a few people, the press, particularly the local radio, also took part in this action. The pamphlet which [illegible word] was changed to acquire a collective application appeared in the CUVINTUL LIBER prior to 15 March. The tenth provocation failed; it turned out that the Trabant which ran into the crowd was an ordinary traffic accident. Despite this, some people prepared themselves to patrol Gorgeny valley with their personal vehicles to bewilder the people who in turn would enter with their scythes and pitchforks. It was possible to direct a few cars to the side. We know what followed in regard to the RMDSZ headquarters and Andras Suto; then came the morning of the 20th. The morning demonstration attacked by the caravan of cars was spontaneous. This is also proven by the fact that the first 43 wounded persons were Hungarians, and only the last ones were Romanians. The instincts broke loose; everyone gave, and received as well. And yet, at this point one must say that in the absence of the RMDSZ, if after its arrival the government committee had sent the Hungarians home, a catastrophic civil war would have broken out, which would have had unpredictable consequences involving the fate of the entire country. The real strength of the organization manifested itself in a tense situation, and our participation in the elections will be successful if we are able to instill this thought in the people. According to Verestoy they regularly cultivated the Association's political relations. Also at present they are conducting interest reconciliation in regard to the elections. Thus, for example, they have reconciled with the National Peasant Party and with the liberals. The Association asked Mr. Rajtu to explain his policy concepts regarding minorities. Contacts are also being established with others.

Laszlo Lorincz from Bucharest reported on his discussions with Mr. Radu Campeanu. Campeanu represents a rather promising European standard. Since this evaluation is identical to the image our readers could have developed about the liberal presidential candidate based on an interview that appeared in No. 101 of this newspaper, we will omit further details (editor's note).

At the request of Karoly Kiraly, Lajos Demeny read the resolutions proposed by the congress. Thereafter [Kiraly], vice chairman of the Provisional Council of the National Alliance and chairman of the RMDSZ advisory body, rose to speak.

Let Them Grow, Let Them Develop!

Karoly Kiraly began his remarks by reporting on the situation that has evolved in the country. He said that the evolution of Romanian society is an extremely complex matter. Obviously that is why we are unable to provide an answer to questions about whom to vote for. Our job is easy insofar as parliamentary elections are concerned, i.e. in regard to representatives to be elected to the senate and the house: Every Hungarian should vote for a Hungarian, this is the recommended election tactic. The situation is more complicated with respect to the presidential elections; one cannot make a choice at this moment without making an error. Once the various parties and groups provide more clarification regarding their programs and the points which state what they will do for us, we will be able to decide more easily. Almost like responding to questions asked of him earlier, in his further remarks Kiraly described his relationship to the Front. After the revolution we supported the Unity Front because its position proved to be progressive. In its first law the Front produced a clear sound, that was followed by the statement of intent—that was also promising. Manipulations began the moment the Front announced that it would run in the elections. The 13 organizations of national minorities which count [number illegible] million members are undecided, because the Front's nationalities program is not clear and raises questions. This is what happened: The minorities became the tools for manipulation, the Hungarians in Romania in particular. This is rather sad from our standpoint, even though we tried to avert the threats whose first signs appeared in January when interests clashed significantly with regard to educational issues. We, the group concerned with minorities in Parliament, instantly introduced a legislative proposal and provided information, and asked the government to interfere with the force of power. Unfortunately, these proposals remained on paper only, and the results are known. We cannot speak of accomplishments at all. We are pleased that it was possible to somewhat reduce the tensions in the crisis situation. It was a good sign that, even though with difficulty, the government committee headed by Gelu Volcan was established. He took his job seriously enough in the framework of cooperation between the army and the political sphere that in the end he came under attack and was removed. If anything may be highlighted from the Marosvasarhely events it is the

working of the RMDSZ. The question was raised whether one should or should not negotiate with Vatra. Frankly, there was no other way out. That is because it was simply impossible to persuade President Iliescu that this was a state affair, one whose handling is not incumbent upon the Hungarians and Vatra. In vain we told Iliescu that the people were waiting for him to appear there; the only thing he said was this: "Reach a compromise!" The two sides, that is. He equated the two camps, even though the two are not equal. "We will support you if you can reach an agreement!"—this was his view. At the same time the events show that this is not a matter pertaining to Transylvania, it involves more than just those who live in Transylvania. Under such circumstances it is difficult to find our way among the presidential candidates, even though there are not many of them. In his further remarks Mr. Kiraly recommended that informative negotiations continue, and if it is possible to find a candidate who is willing to deal with our fate, this fact will have to be brought to the attention of Hungarians and the rest of the minorities on time. If there is no such candidate we could perhaps let everyone vote for whomever he wants to. But perhaps it would be even more beneficial under such circumstances not to vote. This is the meaning of the term 'boycott' he used earlier. Kiraly discussed the matter of congress taking a position regarding the Temesvar proclamation and admitted that he applauded the proclamation when he first learned about it, including point No. 8. Although it is true that he personally worked in the party apparatus' highest leadership for seven years, he also worked for 18 years against Ceausescu. Unfortunately in the past he was persecuted for standing up for his principles, and today they are turning against him for the same reason. In his view the communist systems are dead, and he hopes that never again will this ideal grow roots on European soil. Matters are far more complicated than we would think, as far as the old and new structures are concerned. Our structure is still the old one; accomplishing a fundamental change in the economy will take at least 10 years. We should act in such a way as to accomplish this without serious shock. If the road from capitalism to socialism was long—and we should know that it was—we can just imagine how long the return will be from socialism to capitalism! The internal problems of the country are only increased by the situation which has come about as a result of letting more than 10,000 state security persons, activists, and absolute servants of the old power go. A large number of these cannot find opportunities to work even in work camps. Mr. Kiraly is aware of the fact that the following statement will not make him very popular, he will say it nevertheless: We are still dealing with people who have families which must be provided for. There are more than a few who in their desperation have joined some suspicious criminal elements and contributed to the organization of destabilizing actions. We have to understand that we must, by all means, restore the harmony of coexistence. Kiraly emphatically stressed: I am against communism, and I am not willing to fill a leadership role. Perhaps I could play an advisory role if anyone needs that. Youth has its

say; let them build their organization freely, let them grow, let them develop. This matter should be closed once and for all. As far as he is concerned, Geza Domokos resigned yesterday. As far as I am concerned, he and I are very good friends, we have worked together and we mutually respect each other. He has earned my special respect for the very good work he performs as head of Kriterion. In recent times he has been unable to work the way he would have liked to, of course. After the revolution he and I conducted some tough debate, but not about who should be the bigger one [as published]; instead, we did not agree with each other's methods. Both of us carry the legacy of our past; it has made its mark on all of us. Geza Domokos alone is supposed to decide whether he will accept an office, and the congress has the authority to render a decision. Neither of us had any ambition other than to improve the life of our nationality. And to perform better work. Mr. Kiraly agreed with the role played by Kolozsvár and with the idea that there should be an office in Bucharest where the government and main party offices are headquartered. He did not agree with other subsidiary systems, arguing that everything would continue the way it did before. There is a great need for advice, for a central point of reference. Further he recommended that the institution of the presidium should remain with managing directors and the functional scope of each should be accurately defined. He continues to hold the view that there is a need for a nationalities ministry, an institution which was abandoned as a result of sabotage by the government. One has to [illegible word] until matters are settled. At the end of his speech Kiraly described his life, the path which led him to his present viewpoint, in the course of which he found many Hungarian and Romanian friends and comrades-in-arms with whom he still maintains warm, friendly relations. This viewpoint evolved at the price of big turnabouts, much, much suffering, and deprivation. No provocation could affect real friendship, he stressed. He said that the fact that delegates met under such tense conditions is a great accomplishment, and so is the fact that we were able to discuss our concerns freely and quietly. This in itself means something, because we should not expect miracles. We must acquire our own rights, with confidence and endurance, and not suddenly. We must love our land to an extent that we are prepared to surrender our lives for it, here.

Debate to the Finish Line

Mildly put: A heavy fatigue descended upon the participants when they learned that the act of adopting documents was still to come, a matter which did not promise to be a victory march, judging by the proceedings thus far. One after another the heads of specialized committees revealed the essence of their workings on Saturday, the conclusions drawn on the basis of reconciling positions, and new proposals and concepts. The Association's program statement and subsequently its bylaws became increasingly unified and finalized in response to comments made freely by individuals. And after even

the last passages were adopted in an appropriate form, they read a message to Andras Suto in which Suto's comrades-in-arms present at the congress expressed their sympathy. After the congress voted that the organizing of the dual headquarters would mean a presidium at Bucharest and an executive secretariat in Kolozsvár, the fate of the honorary chairmanship occurred to Geza Domokos. He instantly found a solution: Let us reelect Bishop Laszlo Tokes, a person who has represented the RMDSZ appropriately thus far. This proposal was approved by acclamation, and thus the Association had one elected officer on Sunday afternoon.

Before discussing the method of elections, Attila Jakabffy from Marosvasarhely reported the recommendations made by the belatedly established special committee on elections to the RMDSZ organizations. This could be summarized as follows:

- Without delay contact should be established with all political formations and parties running in the elections;
- We must start to familiarize [the electorate] with election papers and signs;
- It is in the interest of the RMDSZ that every Hungarian nationality voter take part in the elections and that they cast their votes for Hungarian candidates;
- To accomplish this, however, they must know for whom to vote, and must be familiar with the technique of voting;
- Where rules permit, there should be a person present on behalf of the association in each precinct, to provide information;
- Our candidates must be made popular;
- A thorough press campaign should be started to familiarize [the electorate] with the candidates and to provide information regarding functions related to the elections;
- Election rallies with programs should be organized, agricultural professionals should be dispatched to villages;
- Video tapes concerning RMDSZ activities should be played;
- It is important for every voter to understand that on ballot forms and in Romanian language documents the name of the RMDSZ is spelled UDMR, and that the sign with the tulip that was announced as having the red and black colors is actually gray and black.

The election of the leading organs of the Association created such interest among the delegates that persons who announced their intent to speak belatedly were delayed until the waiting period slated for the counting of election results. In this way, late at night Geza Szocs from Kolozsvár took the floor. He had returned to

Romania from the West after several years of absence. Now we know: He became the association's executive secretary [as published], and his remarks merit special attention. (We will quote these in a condensed form.)

I Am an Optimist

A car starts and goes against the traffic on the turnpike, continuing that way all the way to the end. The police are warning drivers that a deranged person is driving against the traffic. The driver going against the traffic also hears this announcement and says: "Only one? All of them are going against the traffic."

While the refugees arrived in trains filled to capacity, and those who wanted never to return reached the Western Terminal, I stood in the building in front of which long lines were waiting for passports, and happily showed that they had returned my personal identification papers.... Since I arrived I have been surrounded on all sides by a consciousness about bankruptcy, fiasco, and loss. At Marosvasarhely the incident indeed resulted in a few fatalities and in many severely wounded. That is sad, but I do not regard this as an irreversible tragic event, as if everyone had forgotten that Marosvasarhely meant victory, not because some defrauded peasants were beaten up, but because it was the fiasco of an attempt. An attempt which aimed for a general pogrom, one that would have freed the country of its minorities. What took place resulted in a serious warning to the Romanian Government—and they took note of that warning—that it has no free hand in organizing additional [illegible word]! Genocide has failed, but it is possible that they will succeed in making us run away.... Although it was a grave incident, Marosvasarhely is only a matter of detail: Since December the Hungarian people have acquired rights they could not have dreamed of even five months ago! I am not speaking of the right to emigrate! That is not what the revolution provided us; within two or three years anyone could emigrate. One could sit tight for that period, but one could not wait for a free Hungarian press, and we now have such a press available. The right to speak freely, the freedom of speech. In this country they would have beaten anyone, from Peter Zold to Imre Kapcza for 77 hours, had they said such a thing through this microphone as I am saying now. So where were we defeated? Where is the fiasco, if we have gotten this far? ... There is a need to develop an economic backing which will enable us to establish the Bolyai university if this is not authorized to be accomplished with state funds. In that case we will establish that institution with our own funds. Instead we are complaining about what certain newspapers are writing about us. I say that the Hungarians of Transylvania are indeed ripe for destruction if they cannot take advantage of the opportunities given to them.

Accordingly, I am an optimist, because our opponents are those who ruled until last December. And those who beginning in January of this year organized destabilizing demonstrations (not only against Hungarians!) are on the decline. In the overthrow of the Ceausescu dictatorship

we witnessed the life instinct of the Romanian nation, one that affirms and demands Romania's belonging to Europe. In the long term this will result in a situation in which the Romanian people's attention cannot be diverted from economic and legal issues by providing dope about nationalities. I would not state that this will take place in a matter of months, but it is also up to us how long the manipulation will last.

I am an optimist even if many exaggerate the contradictions and conflicts that manifest themselves in the RMDSZ and regard the situation as catastrophic, because we are incapable of abandoning our personality conflicts, our personal competition, the practice of saying nothing, our Stalinist past. All bodies in the process of organizing seek their identity, and go through the processes of clarifying values and reconciling interests.... No one should expect 300,000 people from various areas of the country, different as to their ages, occupations, and social conditions, will think the same way. They will not! But that does not matter because they possess the strength and the ability to bridge and to transcend these conflicts for the sake of fundamental interests. Very many people have said that they know very little about me [illegible words]. Perhaps I should say that I regard as my greatest accomplishment in life the fact that my life is transparent, I have always written and spoken what I have had in mind. I can say not only that my political career has been linear, but also that I have made no reversals or U-turns. In my judgment I maintained consistently certain principles even when that was not at all rewarding.

Just briefly in regard to an issue which violates my honor and the honor of others. I am aware of the fact that the honor of any person who plays a role in public life is like a river, anyone can wade into it. Accordingly, I would like to state how I got here, to this auditorium. A few weeks ago several individual got in touch with me, independent of each other, asking whether I would accept the chairmanship of the RMDSZ. I said that I would, provided that Andras Suto, Geza Domokos, and Karoly Kiraly do not agree to serve, and there is a personal vacuum which they think could be filled by me. With the belief that there were no candidates for the chairmanship, these few friends of mine began campaigning on my behalf. All three: Geza Domokos, Karoly Kiraly, and Andras Suto, clearly stated that they do not wish to be candidates. Well, it was only here that it turned out that Geza Domokos changed his mind—he obviously had his reasons for making this decision. I would once again like to state what I have said in the corridors more than once yesterday and today: I do not wish to be a rival of Geza Domokos. I did not agree to accept the post of chairman as a matter of political ambition. And let me also state the following: In recent years I have spent much time in Hungary. I have maintained rather close contact with the leadership of the two main Hungarian opposition parties during the years of illegality—in the early eighties. It would not have been difficult for me to start a political career in

either of the two large opposition parties (the Hungarian Democratic Forum—MDF, or the Alliance of Free Democrats—SZDSZ). I did not because I did not have any political ambition. And this is unchanged today....

Here we come to the end of the congressional chronicle. A home in the homeland, and ... unity holds the future! Treading between the shores of these two certainties we would like to reach a harbor as soon as possible. This is not impatience, it is just a yearning for recognized opportunities, so that we do not permit the tomorrow that belongs to all of us to fade into the distance like a cool planet, due to our own weakness.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Socialists Urge Havel Not To Yield on Republic's Name

90CH0020B Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech
23 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed article: "Letter to V. Havel on The New Name of the Republic"]

[Text] The presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party at its meeting yesterday discussed and approved sending a letter to the President of the Republic, Vaclav Havel. The letter says:

Respected Mr. President,

It was with great concern that we accepted the change in your original proposal on the name of the Czechoslovak Republic to the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia. As you know, the 24th Congress of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party at which all groups in our movement consolidate was not only the first to request officially your candidacy for president of the republic as part of our party platform, but at the same time we fully supported you in the original name of Czechoslovak Republic. From this viewpoint we, the representatives of the traditional and modern movement within our party, again ask you to reexamine your position. One cannot fail to see that in politics it is always necessary to look for a consensus and it is necessary to pursue various interests, but there can never be a great preference for the interests of one group of people at the expense of another. We believe that in the fullest context you understand the seriousness of the question and will again evaluate the solution submitted.

With deepest respect,

Dr. Jiri Vyvadil, Chairman CSS [Czechoslovak Socialist Party]

Prof. Dr. Vladimir Krajina, Honorary Chairman CSS

Reichel Outlines Prospects of Science, Research

90CH0020A Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech
23 Mar 90 p 4

[Interview with Dr. Eng. Frantisek Reichel, vice chairman of the federal government and chairman of the State Committee for R&D and Capital Investment, by Libuse Koubska; place and date not given: "An Uncertain Fate for Our Science?"]

[Text] [Koubska] What will science's position be and particularly what support will it get in connection with the transition over to a market mechanism? Will highly qualified teams not also be broken up along with the liquidation of inefficient research laboratories?

[Reichel] First of all we must reevaluate the entire orientation of science. In past years we were too focused on the technical and economic direction and we simply forgot social affairs, the moral sphere, etc. Science was limited just to the technical and economic area and everything else was totally neglected. It is a familiar and already hoary joke, but unfortunately true, that we have already gone through three stages—not of development, but of decline. The first was to catch up with and pass the industrialized European countries. The second more modestly called for keeping pace with them and recently there has been talk that we at least should not lose their trail. We must above all think about what we can do in science to benefit society immediately and what will have to wait until the third millennium.

Many times we have devoted research to the so-called hard currency savings. If there is one currency, there is no point to this research. We design a lot of technology only because we cannot import it from the West. This will be dropped. Of course, one of the most basic changes of all in this area consists of the fact that we as scientific workers do not know at all what partners we will have. After all, here there will also be private enterprises and the influence of foreign capital and foreign technology...

[Koubska] Here science is cultivated on three levels: in the high schools, in the CSAV (Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences), and in the departmental institutes. Do you think that this existing structure should be changed?

[Reichel] I think that it is entirely natural for it to be different. First of all, the CSAV is working on its own future and on its own organizational structures. The high schools are likewise getting involved in R&D activities which in recent years have been greatly suppressed in them. There should be a substantial change here. If we want to enter into the European community, then we must see what science and research look like around us, for example, in France or in the Federal Republic of Germany. For us these are the most suitable examples, as long as we adapt them to our own conditions. And I also want to emphasize that in the future only actual research activities, that is, those with results, should be financed.

[Koubska] Of course, as far as basic research is concerned, do you feel that it should be bequeathed only to some private talented people or patrons? Is there not a danger that the traditional basic research will be discarded?

[Reichel] Everywhere in the world the state subsidizes science and I believe that will also be the case here. But, on the other hand, why would we not support the efforts of others who want to take part. Science and research throughout the world draws on all sources, so we are not going to limit ourselves just to some areas. This was the case with centralized management which wanted to control everything through one fund and in one direction from one point.

[Koubska] The question of patrons and talented people is connected with that of subsidies, which concerns the prestige of science in Czechoslovakia, social prestige, the appreciation of intellectual capabilities and creative work in general, along with scientific talent.

[Reichel] Our top scientific workers have been most appreciated by foreign countries. We can be proud of them. There are also many of them in this country, but they have been suppressed for political reasons. Earlier the talk was only about scientific and research work, but you are properly speaking of creative work. We will give preference to those who come up with new ideas. In addition, in order to correct the mistakes of the past, we must broadly develop the international exchange of ideas and strive to have our people go abroad as much as possible, starting at the high school and industrial school level up through the postgraduate stage. Before, our only contact with the rest of the world was through literature and at symposia held here. Now there should be a complete reversal; let us utilize what our countrymen are offering us, the sponsors of various companies, and we will also learn management in science, that is, how to do it and where to orient it.

[Koubska] All this could perhaps prevent a potentially dangerous brain drain.

[Reichel] The most important thing of all is for us to be aware of what brainpower potential we have in order for us to utilize it for the good of our motherland. We want to take part in carrying out a number of international scientific tasks, but the substantial matter is that people enriched with experience return and train a new scientific generation. If we want to be a connecting link between the West and the East from the economic and cultural standpoints, then it will be necessary for us to have experts. The current generation from the 1940's and 1950's knows the Eastern culture very well, thanks to the connections of the past years and, if it is enriched by the latest Western knowledge, our science can make an important contribution to the economic and cultural revival of the Czechoslovak state.

November Police Action Still Without Explanation

Larger Designs Suspected

90CH0019A Prague ZEMEDELSE NOVINY
in Czech 21 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by Jan Subert: "17 November Still Obscured (1)"]

[Text] The first foot soldier in the field has been sentenced and another 24 corporals will follow him in the courtroom. There is one big fish in the net so far only because it showed its teeth to the surrounding small fry. This is precisely the results of a three-month investigative marathon of the police affair which has no parallel in this country. A veil of dense fog continues to cover 17 November, the rough beginning of the gentle revolution. Is it at all possible to scatter it?

The investigative papers have thousands of pages and men of the law and rights are working from morning into the night. Without regard to this, however, the final lists of those accused and convicted represents a strange ratio of 590 to 25. And this despite the fact that we can today bet our own necks on the honesty and sincerely meant attempts of the military procurators and the parliamentary commission for oversight of the investigation.

The civil prosecutors in whose net the one lone big fish sits also have our trust. So far, however, we still lack the proof that this is the right fish. It indeed did something, but it is certain that even without it everything would have taken place just the same. It is possible that it is much more involved in the grandiose police whirl on Narodni trida, but so far nobody knows anything about this. And thus even with the greatest antipathy toward its human shape in the form of M. Stepan, it would be tragic to succumb to passion and somehow distort that paragraph of the law a little in the interest of the just anger of the public.

But can we still expect something more about 17 November? Is it possible to uncover the true guilty parties or rather the organizers and authors behind the scenes? In order to understand the possibilities and the connections it is necessary to look at the events of that November day from the other end.

It will surely not be necessary to go over the events again about which everyone who is in on the investigation of the mishap on Narodni trida agrees. There are too many factors which bear witness that the attack was not accidental and uncontrolled, but was organizationally designed and prepared. An answer to the question "why" is not difficult either.

The leadership of the last regime, deaf and blind to the developments in the Eastern countries, was causing more and more foreign policy complications. Its inflexibility was also hurting Soviet politics, whose representatives were pressing our party chiefs more and more strongly.

The Malta meeting between Gorbachev and Bush was approaching and Prague was still complicating the efforts at global political changes. The rigid regime, set in concrete, had become a drag which it was necessary to get rid of. And there was a group within the political power structure of totalitarian Czechoslovakia who thought of a way to do it...

The scenario is obviously a hypothetical one, but let us try to continue with it. A group of ambitious politicians ally themselves with powerful generals and colonels in the Ministry of Interior for whom the incompetent leadership of Jakes has long been a thorn in the side. The student demonstration can be predicted and has even been announced beforehand and a strong action could put matters in motion. The situation then has to be rapidly brought under control, changes made, and a new, apparently more liberal, power set in place. But this did not happen; there was an error somewhere. Matters slipped through their fingers and the avalanche pouring from the overheated boiler also swept away those who had released the safety valve. But is this the way it was?

Success in Evading Responsibility

90CH0019B Prague ZEMEDELSE NOVINY
in Czech 22 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by Jan Subert: "17 November Still Obscured (2)"]

[Text] Twenty-five accused foot soldiers and one netted big fish, but no proof that it is the right one. A hypothetical scenario of a putsch which was supposed to install a new, apparently more liberal power. But this did not take place as matters slipped through their fingers and the avalanche escaping from the overheated boiler swept away those who opened the safety valve as well. That was the content of yesterday's article, the first part of our attempt at dispersing the fog which still today envelopes the investigation of 17 November.

But let us now leave our speculation and look at some facts.

The Federal Minister of the Interior, General Kincl, shortly before the action left Prague and later became seriously ill. In his absence, the first deputy, General Lorenc, took over the leadership of the department. During the course of the action, Lorenc twice telephoned Jakes and reported that everything is alright at Narodni trida, the demonstration is ending, and the slight injuries do not require treatment.

In the control staff for the operation, there is a Soviet advisor to our Ministry of Interior present, KGB General Teslenko. The second day after the action the chief of the department of state administration of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, R. Hegenbart, under whose political authority the federal ministry of the interior falls, is suddenly hospitalized in Sanopez.

The shroud of fog which still today envelopes 17 November gets even denser, however. Against regulations, important orders are issued verbally during the operation, the STB [State Security] destroys written documents, and tape recordings of relayed radio transmissions are lost. High officials in Security who testify before the parliamentary commission are as pure as lilies, know nothing, and suffer from memory loss. The former First Deputy Federal Minister of the Interior, General Lorenc, becomes an advisor to Minister Sachr and there are rumors of his departure to our embassy in Warsaw. An unknown Mafia does things possible and impossible to prevent the military prosecutor from crossing a carefully designated boundary. And obviously one should also not try too hard. It is clearly demonstrated that the military investigators are no match for the police professionals.

According to Lt. Col. J. Vokurka, the former Deputy Chief of the Inspector General's Office of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, it is just this last fact that is the most important. "The Interior is its own world, different from the army," says this high-ranking inspector, who in 1987 because of his moral principles was separated, even with his own team, from the office under dramatic circumstances. And he continues, "The duties and rights are precisely laid out in detail, but here unwritten laws hold sway which nobody dares to break deliberately. If you understand all of this well, then the investigation of 17 November within the Ministry of the Interior is not difficult at all. I would presume to say that I could find those truly guilty in 3 or 4 weeks."

Lt. Col. Vokurka expressed this conclusion, which by the way has been felt and discussed by the public for a long time already, in a private interview with our editorial staff at the beginning of February. However, this assertion still remains officially taboo. Not even those who have oversight over the investigation want to speak up too loudly. But the situation is becoming untenable. The ratio of 590 accused to 25 convicted members of the SNB [National Security Corps], who moreover are only tools whose strings someone else pulled, can no longer be defended.

The truth about the fishing net, which was supposed to snare mainly the big fish but is continually and deliberately cast only over the small fry, was stated without dancing around it on 12 March. The vice chairman of the parliament and the chairman of the parliamentary commission for oversight over the investigation of the events of 17 November, eng. J. Stank, spoke out and his statement indirectly confirms the words of Lt. Col. Vokurka. The chairman of the commission remarks that the military prosecutor must work more actively and requests that the new leadership of the Federal Ministry of the Interior join directly in the investigation.

The morning of 12 March it also came to light that even 2 months after 17 November highly placed chiefs of the FMV [Federal Ministry of the Interior] tried to mislead the military prosecutor and to put him on the wrong

track. And the same day the Independent Investigative Commission accused General Lorenc of having given an order at the beginning of December for the State Security to destroy documents and other materials with the intention of preventing the investigation.

Further developments in the police affair, which has no parallel here, are receiving a new impetus. The military prosecutor does not, of course, decide whether it will open other histories. The new leadership of the Federal Ministry of the Interior is in charge this time, or more specifically the Inspector General of the federal minister Sachr, who has, so to speak, unlimited authority within the department. Up until now, however, this investigative office has not demonstrated any action known to the public in connection with 17 November, but rather the contrary.

According to the declaration of the civic commission which is taking part in the screening of former State Security members, the ministerial inspector general is still today in the hands of the nomenklatura personnel of the CPCZ and together with others is delaying the process of purging the SNB. As long as the new FMV leadership does not take energetic and rapid actions in that direction, 17 November will continue to be obscured.

Additional Questions Raised

90CH0019C Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech
10 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by Vladimir Mlynar: "Little Theater"]

[Text] Soon it will be three months since the first student request caused an investigation of the actions by the police units at Narodni trida and the punishment of those guilty. After the first energetic round, it is as if the parliamentary commission for oversight over the investigation has begun to run out of breath. The military prosecutor documents 523 injured persons and there are 21 members of the units involved and Miroslav Stepan accused. However, right up through today nobody has told the public who gave the order for the action. Stepan is indeed accused of preparations for abuse of the authority of a public official, but who he abused we do not know. The order for the operation could, after all, only be issued on the authority of a very narrow circle of people from around the Ministry of the Interior. Is the time spent already in the investigation not long enough to find out who originated the order? How is it possible that the jointly responsible deputy ministers, Generals Lorenc and Carda, are still employees of the MV [Ministry of the Interior] and General Carda is even serving outside the territory of the republic? So far not even one of the them has been held responsible. Are there perhaps some reasons why these gentlemen should be considered beyond any suspicion beforehand? What about the Minister of the Interior and the General Prosecutor?

Future of Socialism Viewed

90EC0372A Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech
14 Feb 90 p 6

[Article by Frantisek Samalik: "Eclipse of the Left"]

[Text] The formula for socialism after the crumbling of Stalinism can only be a formula for political, individual, and spiritual freedom and humanism and this shadow now falls on all socialism. The leftist orientations themselves clearly make distinctions between each other, but the view from the opposite portion of the political spectrum minimizes this categorization—everything tinted red is dangerous. Here socialism is paying the necessary cost, but the future is also historically determined, like the social incorporation of the slogan "liberty, equality, fraternity."

What are the (still unfinished) categories of "leftist?" The extreme wing is made up of neo-Stalinist conservatism which at this time remains a more or less concealed "state of mind." If it shows up openly in the future, it will be in its own unique destructive and demagogic form of German neo-Nazism; in the USSR the descendants of Stalinism are coming out of the "underground" into public view. Stalinism in the form of fossilized fanaticism is, after all, resistant to arguments of reason and consciousness. In this country it is fusing historically and organizationally with the CPCZ. Whether it will be pulled out of its structure depends on its internal transformations. So far it is not clear to what degree the erosive action of the democratic revolt is breaking up this massive political unit or how many "splinter parties" will arise from it. What is sloughing off from it (the DFK, the independent Socialists) is oriented toward the center in keeping with the standards of the time. If we exclude any gigantic leaps over to the center (motivated by disenchantment, a feeling of guilt, or an instinct for self-preservation), these splinter parties will act as a sieve, capturing the atoms flying off so that they do not get too far away from the original cluster.

This function does not have to be intentional and it is moreover less substantial than the social distaste for the "fallen party," fallen in terms of power, ideology, and morality. Under normal conditions, the kindred parties would have had no scruples in profiting from its crisis, but in this case and at the given time none of them want to come into conflict with public opinion. The electoral behavior is indeed determined more by current events than by historical experiences and criticisms of a world view, but the poor state of present affairs falls on their shoulders and hard results from the corrective actions of the new governing forces so far are just anticipated. It is therefore acceptable for them only to have a strictly selective assimilation of "critical communists" who had already divorced themselves mentally from "real socialism." Even though it is acknowledged that all communists do not bear the same guilt, in practice these words of moderation give way to social ostracism. This is a two-edged sword since it contains a healthy resistance to

autocracy, but also intolerance, revenge, fanaticism, and prejudice. The latter is masked by the former. Even in the service of good deeds, ostracism brings to the new relationships an unconciliatory spirit, irrational prejudices, and the restored image of an enemy.

This is why the other parties of the left are so allergic to hints at the possibility of cooperation by the communists and not only with regard to the opinions of potential voters, since the "newness" of the communists so far has only been proclaimed. Even Revival, the movement for democratic socialism, is allergic in this way. At the same time, it has not decided what it wants to be and whether it even should exist at all as an independent political force. It is the descendant of the reform movement of 1968 and arose from the elements thrown out by the "normalization" regime. It thus has a more than 20-year headstart over the communists in removing the totalitarian aspects from socialist thinking. The stiff-necked stumbling of the communist leaders up until the final painful end of 1989 made it impossible to unite those thrown out with the reform forces in the "official structures," which of course was not only their program, but almost a general program of the opposition. If Revival does not become a political force in the true sense of the word, it will not be attractive and will not regenerate itself in the new generations. It will break down into neighboring parties or will languish in nostalgic memories.

Its 20-year headstart in destalinization relates it most to social democracy. It appears that social democracy has already overcome its dual existence, contributed to by personal motives and by historical resentments. We are now witnesses to how a lack of great integrating personalities gives rise to an excess of leadership ambitions which then causes the creation of too many parties, or rather pseudoparties. To the degree that social democracy has already organically overcome such obstacles, it is important because unquestionably it will in the foreseeable future occupy the key place in the integration of the socialist forces and in the rehabilitation of socialist thought. In doing this, it will also have to come to grips with the irrational element in its historical memories, that is, with an "anticommunism" which makes no distinctions. This stems from the personal experiences of wrongs and apostasy and at this time even includes Revival. It is never surprising when personal motives creep into the political line (more or less covered up by values transcending personal ones).

With the exception of the neo-Stalinists, the entire left supports parliamentary democracy. The more radical socialist and democratic movements (the socialist alternative), as the organic left wing of socialism, has a program oriented toward self-government for all people, a modern version of the "antibureaucratic revolution." From the standpoint of the predominating opinions, it overreaches our time, but it undoubtedly can be an effective corrective force opposing the "alienation" of the state from the civic society. To the right of the other leftist parties is the Czechoslovak Socialist Party which

lately has succeeded in freeing itself from the methods and substance of the totalitarian regime after being exposed to the demoralizing consequences of being a satellite party. Its history is not too balanced since it originated as the party of the "nationalist working class" in competition with the internationalism of social democracy and at tempestuous historical moments it sometimes has emphasized its socialist nature (after 1918) and sometimes its nationalist nature (after 1945).

Almost all the leftist units want to be a "modern leftist party" (a specific exception is the more nationalistic connection of the Czechoslovak socialist parties with the tradition of Masaryk's humanitarianism and socially attuned democracy, but his will not be just their monopoly). Unfortunately, our social structure, our economy, and our spiritual life are not modern. Western socialism became modern leftist in harmony with or by the force of modernizing innovations. Changes of the liberal state into a "social state" were achieved on this wave, the best known representative being the "Swedish model of socialism." Our social democracy does have a historical background, but these concrete histories of technical and social modernization are only a spiritual fact for it. Our social structure was impoverished and crushed by the total "nationalization," so that from the social viewpoint our entire society can theoretically be a leftist base; it is leftist in its socialist orientation, but not at all (or less) in the logic of its social stratification. The leftist parties are thus faced with the task of creating a modern society and a modern economy. This is also where the difficulty lies in their situation. The modern nature of this program will precede modernization of the society and its mentality. As modernizers they will disrupt the existing social security, the off limits untouchability of "social ownership," etc., while as socialists they must constantly have the social support of the citizenry close to their hearts.

Past, Future Standard of Living Assessed

90EC0369A Prague PRACE in Czech 16 Feb 90 p 5

[Interview with Doc. Miroslav Hirs], Social Development Research Institute, by Jitka Skaloudova and Jaroslav Hejkal: "On What Terms Do We Live?"

[Text] [PRACE] A person's standard of living is somewhat of tricky concept, but nonetheless his monetary income affects it to a decisive degree. Is this true?

[Hirs] Not completely, because a person's standard of living also depends to a great degree on what kind of household he lives in. In each average household, income is utilized jointly as a rule, so that even if one of its members has above-average earnings, it does not mean that he also has to have an above-average standard of living.

[PRACE] Do we have any system for studying household income?

[Hirs] In Czechoslovakia we have had a good compilation of statistics on income, the so-called microcensus, for a long time now. This selective survey is carried out every 3 to 5 years at 100,000 households. The last one took place last year in the spring and dealt with income from 1988.

[PRACE] What information did it provide?

[Hirs] It was determined that in the CSR the average monthly net income for a household member was Kcs 1,900. In comparison with 1970, when the income per person reached only about Kcs 1,000, that is a growth of about 70 percent.

[PRACE] Was it really that much?

[Hirs] I know that at first glance it can seem that this is a considerable amount. Of course, we must at the same time measure it by the price level. Also, the citizens' real income and not the nominal income is what is significant for evaluating the growth in the standard of living. The cost of living index is therefore also determined and during that 18-year period it shows a 24 percent growth in prices. This means over 1 percent annually.

[PRACE] Of course, there are some serious reservations among the experts about this cost of living index...

[Hirs] Surely. For example, they object that the existing method of calculation and the structure are too rigid, that the index does not express precisely how much a household's expenses actually increased, and that we should therefore recalculate it. However, as long as we do not have any firm data on how the prices here have actually developed, we have only the auxiliary indicator called the development of average prices. These prices are determined for those goods measured in items, kilograms, meters, or liters, that is, where one can physically equate the financial amount of goods sold with the quantity. This gives you an average price for a kilogram of bread, a meter of material, a liter of milk, one automobile, etc. Then when we take these average prices into account, they have risen not by a quarter in the 18 years since 1970, but by a half. This shows that the growth annually was not 1.2 percent, but rather 2.3 percent.

[PRACE] But here is the proper place to object that some kinds of goods went up in price because their quality improved...

[Hirs] That is true. For example, at the beginning of the 1980's we were not selling color television sets, only black and white ones. For many other types of goods, on the other hand, one can on the contrary state that their quality has rather gone down. This is true, for example, of smoked meat products because their contents have worsened. There thus can be objections from both sides of the argument.

[PRACE] What, in your opinion, was the development of the actual income of people in this country during the period about which we are speaking?

[Hirsl] If I judged by the official cost of living index, then in those 18 years the actual income increased by an average of 38 percent or roughly by 2 percent annually. Of course, if I consult the growth in average prices, which in my judgment is closer to the truth, then it would be only 14 percent and thus not quite 1 percent annually. However, we must be aware that the overall period splits into two unequal parts from the standpoint of the development of the standard of living. At the start of the first half of the 1960's we had a relatively noticeable growth in real income, while from 1976 until now there has been a very slight growth which is close to stagnation. In some years, real income even dropped.

[PRACE] So far we have been talking about averages even though, as you have already noted, each of us lives in different conditions, in specific families and households. What then is the breakdown from the standpoint of income per capita? How many households can be put into the groups "rich," "average," or "poor"?

[Hirsl] The household income is made up in part of employment earnings and in part of social income such as pension payments, allotments for children, etc. A high level of employment is typical for our republic. As early as the beginning of the 1970's it was the exception for a family to have only one adult member working. Currently there are 47 supported persons, mainly children, for each 100 persons working and only 3 percent of all household members are dependent adults. In 1988 we had only 4.5 percent of the total number of households where the monthly income per capita was less than Kcs 1,000, while 6.5 percent of the households had above-average income exceeding Kcs 3,000 per person. Families with an average income per capita thus predominate and those which we could call "rich" or "poor" are about balanced out in our society.

[PRACE] Could you somehow define more closely that group of "poor" households?

[Hirsl] This group includes, for example, the 11 percent of retirees' households without employment income. It also includes a large share of those households in which only one member of the family is economically active. We can especially put here those young families in which the wife cannot go to work after the children are born and the mother's allotment has been terminated, so that the family lives on just one employment income. Traditionally this group includes incomplete families of deserted wives and families with a large number, four or more, of children. To summarize, in our republic the "poorest" group is particularly the youngest or the oldest families by the members' ages. By way of contrast, the largest share in the "richest" group is that of people from 50 to 65 years old. This is partly the result of the fact that people from those households have children who are already independent or because these people earn extra money besides their pensions.

[PRACE] Just what is the living minimum in this country?

[Hirsl] In the last 20 years there have been surveys carried out here as to how much resources are necessary for a household to meet its basic needs. The poverty line was thus determined, even though it was not called that. The information was used to adjust the social allotments proportionally, where the current minimum pension as the sole source of support has been set at Kcs 1,000 per month for a single pensioner and Kcs 1,700 monthly for a retired couple, being set at this level in 1987. Of course, since that time the prices have again gone up so that a correction of that amount is being considered. The federal ministry of labor and social affairs therefore set up a commission of experts to establish the official boundary for a living minimum which is supposed to express some more specific ideas in the near future.

[PRACE] And what about a minimum wage? Do we have one established?

[Hirsl] Unfortunately, not that either. Until recently it was argued that there are practically no such low wages in this country because nobody works for the first and second wage rates any more, which are considerably below the Kcs 1,000 boundary. This is indeed still true today, but we cannot exclude the possibility that this situation will change during the transition over to a market economy. It would be truly desirable to introduce a category of a minimum wage which would guarantee the most basic living needs, especially for those just starting to work.

[PRACE] Where are we then with the standard of living and just how do you see the future for the entire matter about which we have been speaking?

[Hirsl] It may appear that we have a relatively good standard of living, but of course we must realize that in the long term it is stagnating and we have achieved it at the expense of meeting other important needs such as ecological and other problems. Understandably, the transition over to democracy, to a market economy, to application of the individual's capabilities, and to hard competition will disrupt our accustomed quiet existence and our perhaps excessive security as well because it is simply not possible to maintain them both. From this standpoint, some serious questions which it will be necessary to answer will come up in the social sphere. It will obviously not be possible to hold to the relatively slow growth in prices and in wages, even though the government's efforts may prevent a high level of inflation. Therefore for the group of inhabitants dependent on social income there must be a system introduced for regular adjustments to the inflationary developments we have mentioned. The problems will also bring out changes in the economy, a number of activities will cease to exist, and overemployment will be reduced, which brings about the need to support people during a temporary loss of employment. And, as far as the future is concerned, the principle will apply that each of us must himself strive to increase his own standard of living mainly through his own efforts. In addition, of course, there must be a net of social measures guaranteeing the

minimum for existence in order to limit any drastic worsening of the standard of living of some groups of citizens and not to allow them to live in poverty.

HUNGARY

SZDSZ Executive Dramatizes Continued Communist Threat

25000706C Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
12 Apr 90 p 4

[Article by Tibor J Keri: "Follow Me Inconspicuously; Gabor Demszky: I Am Concerned About the Opposition"]

[Text] Half the press and TV news, about 50 or 60 reporters, gathered "inconspicuously" in front of Rokus Hospital at 1100 hours yesterday. Waiting for us inconspicuously at the entrance were two young men wearing raincoats and dark glasses. Soon thereafter they whispered to the journalists: "Please follow me inconspicuously." Journalists who had lived through many things in recent decades understood the word: About fifty reporters followed the men with dark glasses on tiptoes, sneaking in. We also boarded a waiting Volan bus in front of the Corvin department store "inconspicuously."

In an effort to mislead our supposed followers, the bus arrived at Engels Square after twenty minutes of sightseeing. At the square our friends wearing raincoats attentively waited until all of us "inconspicuously" left the bus, then we followed them once again. All the way under ground, to the underground museum of the Budapest Transit Company [BKV], at the entrance of which a sign indicated that it was "closed for technical reasons," in the interest of the conspiracy, naturally.

Underground we learned that Aura Book Publishers had lured us in this mysterious way to a press conference promoting their most recent book "The Shadow World." The author of the book was present: a dissident state security "lookout," 24-year-old police warrant officer Tamas Zolyomi.

The former warrant officer revealed to the full press that he had spent two years and eight months in the state security service. By now it has become fully clear to him that in the course of these three years of his life he did not protect the interests of the state or society, but instead he protected representatives of a sick ideology, a narrow group. And this did not just pop out of his brain, it had become apparent to him before, when he was following today's parliamentary representatives who belonged to the prohibited opposition circles in those days. He had thought that they were bad people. Then later he recognized that they were not the bad ones. But he has no bad conscience today for persecuting them. After all, the cops-and-robbers game did not go for blood, it involved only a monetary fine....

SZDSZ executive Gabor Demszky took part in the briefing. He himself was one of the persecuted. Demszky shared his earlier adventures with those present.

"Persecution means a change in lifestyle," Demszky said. One quickly abandons the practice of talking at home. One communicates in writing with his family members and friends. He pursues a dual life: one in public, and another "underground," according to the rules of the conspiracy. "We got used to this lifestyle in the course of eight years; it was part of our everyday life."

Thereafter the SZDSZ executive spoke of his concerns.

"I am familiar with the methods and the size of the secret service apparatus. I am concerned about the fact that a substantial part of the staff continues to work for the national security service and in the Ministry of the Interior. This apparatus may be operated and utilized again at any time by the new government."

"I mentioned my concerns," Demszky replied to a NEPSZABADSAG question, "because persons who have not encountered the Company's people are far more defenseless than we are. I am concerned about the parliamentary opposition. I am concerned about the possibility that the Company may continue to operate. And they will be totally unprepared for this. It would be very beneficial if this would not take place. For this reason there truly is a need for house cleaning at the Ministry of the Interior, and this should be accomplished as fast as possible, with the greatest publicity. This is the way the public, we the opposition, may be reassured that the old things will not be repeated."

Independent Parliamentary Faction Leader Interviewed

25000706B Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian
20 Apr 90 p 5

[Interview with Representative Istvan Fodor, former acting president of the National Assembly, by Pal Berko; place and date not given: "National Assembly; The Orphaned House; Between Old and New"]

[Text] A decision was made last weekend: Following consultation with representatives of the parties seated in Parliament, provisional President of the Republic Matyas Szuros convened the organizational meeting of the new National Assembly for 2 May. Undoubtedly, the most noticeable change in the new parliament is the fact that there was a thorough turnover in the persons seated. One may also expect changes in the workings of the legislature, and in the composition of the apparatus that assists legislators in Parliament. We asked Istvan Fodor, the outgoing acting president of the National Assembly and an independent representative beginning in May, what the fate of specialists who thus far have provided support for legislators in the background will be. In general: What is the president of the National Assembly doing when there is no National Assembly, when the old

parliament no longer holds office, and the new parliament has not yet taken office?

[Fodor] He deals with the backlog; in the days after the final session I noticed that the volume of work had decreased, fewer people called and fewer documents were placed on my desk. Work picked up once again in recent days, because it is the job of National Assembly employees to establish technical conditions for the functioning of the new parliament.

Handing Over the Keys

[Berko] What does the transferring of official duties mean in your case?

[Fodor] When the new National Assembly is established, and the office holders take their places, they inherit the corps of National Assembly professionals from the previous parliament. It will be the task of this apparatus to account for the materials in the archives, for various documents, and for the contents and the keys of vaults. I feel that as far as I am concerned the change in power will take place without any particular ceremony. I will hand the key to the vault over to the new president of the National Assembly. We will have a cup of coffee and I will wish him good luck along with a warm handshake.

[Berko] In recent times the concept of personnel changes in Hungary has been linked to the destruction of documents. Does this threat exist in Parliament?

[Fodor] I can state this in the firmest of terms: It does not, because there is no reason for it. Except for the minutes of closed plenary sessions and closed committee meetings, the Hungarian Parliament conducted its business with the broadest possible openness. The Hungarian press obtained an opportunity in the drafting stage of legislation to follow the fate of proposals in committees. Perhaps only the National Assembly documents related to international relations are less known to the public, but neither are these of the kind which warrants a "secret" classification.

[Berko] To what extent did the National Assembly apparatus acquiesce insofar as its future is concerned?

[Fodor] Not at all, the way I see it. It must be accepted as a natural fact that the president and vice president of the National Assembly choose their own secretaries and immediate staff. Accordingly, there will be personnel changes by all means, particularly with regard to confidential functions. Many older workers in Parliament are thinking about retiring; in my view all the younger ones have looked at job offers preparing themselves for a possibility that the new leaders of Parliament will not require their services. With regard to certain functions, I see serious danger in making radical personnel changes, because such changes could easily render Parliament unable to function. One must not disregard the fact that in the upcoming period in the life of the House the entire Parliament must learn about the work of representatives.

In this situation the most certain guidepost is the apparatus of Parliament, which helps and serves the workings of the National Assembly. If it were up to me I would not make any changes in this well prepared team.

[Berko] What "agenda package" did the old parliament bequeath to the new one?

[Fodor] The previous parliament took many positions and made many decisions which in time transcended the representative mandates. We recently summarized these matters to be carried over, and handed a copy of the summary to the representatives of parties. Our foreign affairs division is preparing its summary at present. It will contain the diplomatic history of the past five years: what countries our parliamentary delegations visited, from what countries delegations came to Hungary, which countries have open invitations to visit Budapest, and to what countries our parliamentary delegations were invited. Following the elections, the Federal Republic of Germany was first to indicate that the officers of its parliament would be pleased to pay a visit in Budapest. As far as the legacy of the old National Assembly is concerned, it is well known that it did not want to take a position concerning the legal standing of representatives and the leaders of the state. This matter must be settled by the new legislature by all means. At the same time the constitution must also be amended because the amendments made last October included a section which provides that only a law with the force of the constitution may govern any matters having to do with fundamental rights and duties. It may be impossible to govern the country if this section remains in force. This is because the scope of fundamental rights and duties is rather broad. As a result there is the danger that the new parliament must prepare itself for endless arguments.

The Sleeping Female Legislator

[Berko] In addition to not having decided the legal standing of representatives, the old parliament did not make a decision concerning the compensation of representatives either.

[Fodor] In this relation the constitution speaks of an honorarium which ensures "the independence of representatives," and I am of the belief that today our country needs a highest level popular representative body whose members pursue their professions in the framework of a primary occupation. Nevertheless, the legislative proposal already discussed by the previous parliament, and whose text we reconciled with representatives of the various parties, provides an opportunity for the pursuit of the representative function as a "second job," without having the representatives surrender their original profession. I doubt that a representative in a parliament holding continuous session would have an opportunity—or the time—to also perform at the workplace of his primary occupation.

[Berko] What would be the amount of a representative's honorarium which, besides being fair, would also ensure independence?

[Fodor] Based on last year's calculations it would be three times the net amount of the average income of persons making a living out of wages and salaries, i.e. 24,000 forints per month as of 1989. One could argue whether this amount is sufficient; it is certainly insufficient for a person to get rich on today, but in my view it is sufficient to provide for a decent living, because this amount is supplemented by wages to be paid at the workplace of the representative's primary occupation.

[Berko] In one of his radio statements MDF representative Istvan Csurka expressed opposition to the live television broadcast of parliamentary sessions. What is your view?

[Fodor] There is some truth to that, because most parliaments in the world have agreements with television companies that footage recorded in the chamber cannot be broadcast until a person having jurisdiction—in most instances a representative of a parliament's press office—has viewed the material. Hungarian TV viewers have been able to see such pictures frequently in recent months. There was an example for the appearance on the television screen of a female legislator in the chamber taking a nap in the course of debate.

[Berko] I believe that the parliamentary debates of the upcoming period will hardly permit anyone to do so, because we may expect a continuous battle in the chamber, fought with peaceful means. This, on the other hand, demands the existence of a debating culture and a high degree of self restraint. What are your expectations in this regard?

[Fodor] I have never been able to agree with representatives who in the absence of arguments, have tried to offset the shallowness of the substance of their statements by coarsely kicking their opponents, by trying to pillorize and to discredit them. This does not befit a member of Parliament. I am convinced that in politics respecting one's opponent is of fundamental importance, and there will be a need for this in the future Hungarian Parliament to an extent never before seen. In this parliament there will be an opportunity to express many interests and conflicts through the various parties, but emotions should never replace arguments.

[Berko] By now the roster of representatives has become final. There are many new faces, but missing from the seats will be the women with petticoats who became members of the National Assembly not because of their fitness to serve as representatives, but on the basis of certain considerations of "popular representation." In examining the roster of representatives, what differences do you notice between the compositions of the old and the new parliament?

[Fodor] There always was, and in my view there always will be, a stratum of representatives which does not become substantively involved in the workings of Parliament. One may expect that the number of such representatives will increase in the future, even more so because the character of work in Parliament will change. The views of individual

parties will be conveyed by the leaders or spokesmen of those parties, and as a result there will hardly be an occasion when every representative of a party is able to express his opinion in the course of a session. On the other hand, the representatives' presence will become extremely important when it comes to vote taking. The other difference between the former parliament and the new one is that many lawyers, economists, and artists are among the representatives. There are far fewer practical professionals, managers, cooperative leaders, enterprise presidents, and financial professionals. One must look for these with a magnifying glass, and this is not favorable, because in addition to theoreticians, Parliament is in great need of some practical professionals.

The Independent Group

[Berko] During the fall of 1988 when the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party formed its faction you were the one to initiate the establishment of a party outsider faction. Will there be an independent faction in the new parliament?

[Fodor] Six independent candidates became National Assembly representatives. Five of them are of the opinion that we should establish an independent faction. By all means, we are counting on representatives who will enter the new legislature on behalf of nationalities in Hungary. I trust that we will be able to enlist at least ten representatives, because this is the procedural criterion for establishing an independent group. A multiparty parliament must have such a group.

Public Perception of Parties' Place in Political Spectrum

25000706A Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
21 Apr 90 p 4

[Article by Guy Lazar: "What's in the Center and What's to the Left?"]

[Text] Politicians and political scientists in today's Hungary are seriously concerned about using the terms "left wing" and "right wing." According to the results of a Median Limited Liability Corporation survey, people have far less trouble due to the confusion of these terms: On the average they place themselves, along with the two "winning" parties, on the left side of the right wing.

In the course of the survey people were asked to rate five parties on a scale of one to 10 according to whether they feel these parties are left-wing or right wing parties. The five parties were the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], the Social Democratic Party of Hungary [MSZDP], the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. In addition, respondents were asked to evaluate themselves from the same standpoint. (One meant "very much to the left," and 10 meant "very much to the right.")

People responded most easily to the question concerning the MSZMP: Ninety-two percent of the respondents found a place for this party on the scale. Finding a place for themselves and for the rest of the parties caused more difficulty, (82 percent found a place for themselves and for the MSZP, 80 percent for the MSZDP, 77 percent for the MDF, and 76 percent for the SZDSZ).

Above all, the average ratings reveal that, taken together, the socialist or social democratic parties, i.e. the MSZMP, the MSZP, and the MSZDP, were placed on the left side of the spectrum, while people placed themselves and the "purely democratic" parties, i.e. the MDF and the SZDSZ, on the right side of the spectrum. Within this we must mention two peculiarities. One of these is the fact that "purely socialist" parties, i.e. the MSZMP and the MSZP, were placed in the center of the left side of the spectrum (one of them slightly to the left of center on the left, the other to the right of center on the left), while the party having both "socialist" and "democratic" features was placed on the right edge of the left side. The other peculiar feature is that "purely democratic" parties, i.e. the MDF and the SZDSZ, were placed in the center of the right field (but to the left of center on the right). Thus the MSZDP was placed closer to the MDF than to the MSZP, and was placed at equal distances from both the SZDSZ and the MSZP.

At the same time, it is also true that the average respondent placed himself on the left edge of the right side. Thus they came closest to the MDF, and found themselves at equal distances from both the MSZDP and the SZDSZ. Accordingly, the average Hungarian voter—if there is such a thing—would be a person wavering between social and liberal democracy, and (therefore?) would vote "for Hungarian democracy" (or would not take part in the elections).

According to the data collected, the respondents' social strata did not determine the way they rated the various parties. On the other hand, placing themselves in the spectrum was tied to their age, their place of residence, their educational accomplishments, and their occupations.

People became increasingly "left wing" as their age increased; the greatest difference in outlook could be found between persons under and above the age of 60, respectively.

On the other hand, as the urbanized character of the residence declined, the residents' "right-wing" outlook increased; the greatest difference could be seen between persons residing in cities in the countryside on the one hand, and villagers on the other.

People belonged increasingly to the "right wing" as their educational level increased. This trend, however, prevailed only up to the high school graduate level; persons holding degrees once again became more "left wing."

And finally, from the standpoint of occupation, the greatest difference was recorded between people who make a living from wages and salaries on the one hand, and independent persons, on the other. The former placed themselves in the

center, while the latter placed themselves in the center of the right side. Of persons making a living out of wages and salaries, the leaders and members of the intelligentsia declared themselves as being of the most left wing persuasion. They were followed by trained and unskilled workers, and by other white collar workers, ending with skilled workers.

Note: Data presented in this article were collected in the course of public opinion research conducted on behalf of the MSZDP concerning views held regarding that party; the data is published with the concurrence of the MSZDP. The survey was prepared between 19 and 26 January on a 1,200-person sample representative of the country's adult population. The number of persons interviewed was 1,193.

Average Rating of Political Parties and Respondents on the Left-Right Scale

MSZMP	2.5
MSZP	3.5
MSZDP	5.1
Respondent	5.8
MDF	6.3
SZDSZ	6.6

Various Social Groups' Average Rating of Self on the Left-Right Scale

Above the age of 60	5.1
Less than 8th-grade education	5.3
Leaders, members of the intelligentsia	5.4
Academy, university graduates	5.5
Trained and unskilled workers	5.5
Budapest residents	5.6
Persons between the ages of 51 and 60	5.7
Persons between the ages of 41 and 50	5.7
City residents in the countryside	5.7
Other white collar workers	5.7
Persons with grade school education	5.8
Persons between the ages of 31 and 40	5.9
Skilled workers	5.9
Village residents	6
High school graduates	6.1
Independent persons	6.8

Legislative Work, Legislators' Responsibility Discussed

25000703D Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
14 Apr 90 p 4

[Interview with elected representative Dr. Imre Konya, by Lajos Bodnar; place and date not given—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Dr. Imre Konya, founder of the Independent Lawyer's Forum, the organizer of the Opposition

Roundtable, and the highly visible personality in political life hardly needs an introduction. Having led the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] slate in Pest County, he was among the first to receive his mandate. We interviewed him about the legislative work of the Parliament being formed after he received his mandate.

[Bodnar] Following some futile debate, the outgoing Parliament bequeathed to the new National Assembly all the problems attending the legal status of representatives, and the settlement of the elementary conditions for legislative functioning. How do you, personally, view the work of a legislator: Should it or should it not be performed as a primary occupation?

[Konya] The contrast between a primary job and a secondary job does not express the essence of matters. The reason this question is being raised at all is because it is questionable whether this activity may be performed only on the side, along with a primary occupation. In my view the occupation of a representative must be performed as a profession. The tasks demand a full person; at the same time I believe that this issue cannot be resolved by way of administrative rules. One should not rule out from the outset the possibility that a representative may pursue another income producing occupation. The absolute limits for this are established in the framework of incompatibility rules. Having thought through all of this, I decided that even though I could practice law as a matter of formality, I will suspend that practice at least during the initial period.

[Bodnar] The public has great expectations about the organizational meeting of Parliament. We may find constitutional amendments and matters related to the election of the president as part of the legislative agenda. How do you view this problem?

[Konya] These are not among the most urgent tasks. Personally, I believe that within the framework of the present state organization it would be more appropriate if Parliament elected the president of the republic, as compared to a direct election of the president by the people. Not to mention the fact that the country has gone through two rounds of elections, the election of local autonomous governments is still ahead of us, and it would not be fortunate to have to call the country to the ballot box for the fourth time in six months.

[Bodnar] Above all, the new Parliament should "codify" itself first, because the conditions for multiparty functioning are rather pliable. It is not clear, for example, who should chair the committees, whether they should be persons from the coalition ranks or from among the opposition representatives.

[Konya] House rules must be established without delay. In my view, all parties must participate in committee

work. The ruling coalition must not exclusively control the committees; on the other hand, we should not go to the other extreme either. It is not true that committee posts should be yielded to the opposition in order to more effectively protect minority rights: This would also infringe upon the principle of popular representation, the more so because the parliamentary work increasingly gravitates in the direction of committees.

[Bodnar] The ability of the new parliament to render decisions may be threatened to a certain extent by the fact that amendments to the pivotal laws, to the laws with the force of the constitution, require a two-thirds majority. And the planned ruling coalition does not command a two-thirds majority. It is an uncomfortable inheritance the MDF received as a matter of public law, on the other hand it is a strong weapon in the hands of the opposition. Or do you see things differently?

[Konya] That is not the way I see it, because this situation is not untenable from the standpoint of the MDF, it threatens the possibility to govern the country instead. It makes the work of governing more difficult with regard to matters that require a decision by Parliament. It would be untenable if even the smallest tax issue were to require a decision based on a two-thirds, qualified majority.

[Bodnar] And if I recall correctly, previously not a single tax law enjoyed the support of a qualified majority.... Considering the Constitutional Court's view with regard to the [mortgage] interest tax as a basis, we may be facing some serious debate.

[Konya] By all means, we require a more specific, a more narrow construction. In a manner similar to Western democracies we must restrict the presently unlimited scope of regulation. Some hope may be seen in the fact that Peter Tolgyessy, the constitutional lawyer of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], agrees with me. The SZDSZ executive also regarded this rule as untenable, and I do not believe that at present he would think otherwise.

[Bodnar] As a representative of the Independent Lawyers' Forum, you considered the intensive legislative proposal development work conducted by the Justice Ministry a horse race in creating laws. How do you envision this taking place as a future legislator?

[Konya] The political situation was entirely different when we stood up against the forced pace of creating laws. At that time this rush in legislation was a supplemental action by those in power, it postponed the real political change. Part of the laws about to be enacted were hanging in the air. At that time the legislative process served the purpose of postponing substantive political change; at present the legislative process means the establishment of foundations for real societal changes.

POLAND

Solidarity's National Commission Membership

90EP0542A Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC
in Polish No 17, 27 Apr 90 p 2

[Membership of the National Commission, Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity"]

[Text]

Arkuszewski, Wojciech	Matulka, Leszek
Baran, Stanislaw	Matyjas, Eugeniusz
Bartosz, Waldemar	Michalowki, Stanislaw
Bielinski, Klemens	Mikus, Boguslaw
Boni, Michal	Mosinski, Jan
Borusewicz, Bogdan	Mrozinski, Zbigniew Zenon
Brycki, Wieslaw	Muller, Edward
Calka, Jan	Musielak, Andrzej
Daniel, Wojciech	Musielak, Ryszard
Darnowski, Pawel	Narozny, Bogdan
Domanski, Ryszard	Niemiec, Barbara
Dowgiallo, Krzysztof	Olszewski, Zenon
Drwal, Radoslaw	Oskierko, Stanislaw
Dumkiewicz, Czeslaw	Palubicki, Janusz
Filinski, Jozef	Panek, Stanislaw
Frasyniuk, Wladyslaw	Pietrzyk, Alojzy
Fraczek, Jan	Piotrowski, Stefan
Gburzynski, Jozef	Pleskacz, Stanislaw
Jackowski, Marek	Polkowski, Jozef
Jankowski, Maciej	Polmanski, Grzegorz
Jaszczka, Piotr	Radlinski, Andrzej
Jedynak, Tadeusz Janusz	Radziewicz, Edward
Jonca, Maria	Rafalski, Zbigniew
Jurczak, Stefan	Rogucki, Slawomir
Kaczynski, Lech	Rulewski, Jan
Kaminski, Marek	Sauk, Jacek
Karauda, Bogdan Ryszard	Sibiga, Jan
Kenig, Henryk	Sieczkos, Zbigniew
Kielek, Eugeniusz	Slowik, Andrzej
Kolosa, Grzegorz	Smagowicz, Jacek
Komadowski, Bronislaw	Smirnow, Andrzej
Kowalik, Zbigniew	Smolinski, Andrzej
Kowalski, Andrzej	Stachowicz, Stanislaw
Koziel, Andrzej	Steczynski, Andrzej
Krzaklewski, Marian	Szkaradek, Andrzej
Komolowski, Longin	Szumiejko, Eugeniusz
Kwiecinski, Marian	Terlecki, Jerzy
Langer, Jerzy	Tokarczyk, Jerzy

Lewandowski, Marian	Tomaszewski, Janusz
Lewandowski, Tadeusz	Tracichleb, Zbigniew
Lis, Bogdan	Traczyk, Roman
Ladosz, Zbigniew	Tucholski, Wojciech
Lowiec, Wojciech	Weglarz, Stanislaw
Macinski, Kazimierz	Weglinska, Anna
Madej, Zenon	Wieczorek, Andrzej
Malinowski, Zdzislaw	Wierzchowiecki, Stanislaw
Marczuk, Stanislaw	Wysocki, Wieslaw

Two places in the KK [National Commission] will be filled in the third round of voting.

Solidarity's National Commission Meets, Elects New Presidium

90EP0542B Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
5-6 May 90 p 3

[Article by Alicja Balinska: "Kaczynski and Jurczak: Lech's Deputies"]

[Text] On Friday 4 May in Gdansk, the newly elected National Commission of NSZZ Solidarity held deliberations. The deliberations were opened by chairman Lech Walesa. He nominated Lech Kaczynski for first deputy chairman of the union, and Stefan Jurczak (Malopolska) for second deputy chairman. He did not hide the fact that he was interested in the election of these persons, who have proven themselves in union work. There were no nominations from the floor, and both candidates won the necessary majority of votes in secret elections.

Lech Kaczynski presented the most urgent tasks to the National Commission. These have to do with the quick acceptance by the Sejm of a new law on employment and group lay-offs and also with the redefinition of the bases of negotiation with the government. This redefinition should come before any governmental decisions on questions of interest to the union. Unemployment issues should also be put in order, and comprehensive labor agreements should be negotiated by the factory commissions. Jan Rulewski (Bydgoszcz) found this program to be too passive.

The Presidium of the National Committee was also elected. The following chiefs of the five largest regions became members: Alojzy Pietrzyk, Slasko-Dabrowski Region; Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Lower Silesia; Michal Boni, Mazowsze; and Bogdan Borusewicz, Gdansk. The chief of the Malopolska region had already been elected to the deputy chairmanship of the union. The following persons became standing members of the presidium: Bogdan Lis (foreign office), Wojciech Arkuszewski (economics), Marian Krzaklewski (branch sections), and Janusz Palubicki (finances).

Barbara Malak was elected as press secretary of the National Commission.

POLAND

Transformation of Army Should Keep Up With International Crisis

90EP0484A Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish
28 Mar 90 p 3

[Article by Col. Roman Kulczycki: "Restructuring: Looking at the Condition of the Military"]

[Text] General statements in the Polish Republic's defense principles make it incumbent upon the leadership of the Armed Forces to respond to a number of important questions, with the help of military scientists. The following questions are the most important: Whom are the armed forces to serve and for what purpose? What sort of capability should they have at their disposal? How should this potential be utilized in the course of armed conflict?

Finding answers to these questions is a task which is both difficult and very responsible. Appropriate research is necessary before an answer can be correct and credible, but even initial analysis shows that in devising Poland's defense system, we should be guided by the principle of essential adequacy. This principle calls for having enough armed forces which, both within the framework of a defense compact and independently, will be able to defend us from invasion from outside. This applies both to their composition and to the size and quality of resources to wage armed conflict. It is therefore a question of having a military budget which will ensure preparing the country and armed forces for effective defense, without limiting the possibility of the country's peaceful development, and make the defense undertakings serve the national economy in the best possible way, while seeing to it that the economic solutions bolster the country's defense preparedness.

Defense expenditures should therefore be determined, on the one hand, by the degree of threat to the country from the potential enemy, and, on the other hand, by the country's economic possibilities. The resources available should, moreover, be carefully handled, with the idea of meeting only essential defense needs.

The types of arms and armies that enable it to maintain the required level of combat preparedness and are decisive in carrying out defense tasks should be developed

selectively and appropriately. This means that the development of the armed forces should be guided by the creation of those organizational structures which are vital to ensuring the country's security. Indispensable combat potential can be maintained with limited expenditures by improving the command processes, ensuring a high level of combat and mobilization readiness, and providing for efficient operational expansion of the armies in various situations, but certain restructuring measures are needed for this to be fully possible.

Today we have an offensive-defensive army, which can conduct effective combat operations, because it was trained only in conjunction with the armed forces of other Warsaw Pact countries. This is not a satisfactory state of affairs, in view of the changes which have already occurred and which are continuing in the international situation.

It is therefore a question of transforming the armed forces to be equally capable of conducting decisive combat operations under somewhat independent circumstances within the system of defending the Polish Republic. Hence, the following restructuring should be done in keeping with the Polish Republic's defense doctrine:

First of all, make a scientific review of the armies, their combat strength, the functioning integrity of their organizational structures, and the quality of the line, scientific, and teaching staff.

Undertake not a partial restructuring (just for today) but a comprehensive long-range reorganization of existing structures, reducing those which are out of date and unsuited to the battlefield of the future and replacing them with new ones which are fewer in number but of better quality.

In preparing the armed forces for operations on a possible future battlefield, place the emphasis on the possibilities and skills in carrying out tasks not only within the framework of the Warsaw Pact's united defense forces but also, and primarily, independently within the borders of our own country.

The Armed Forces of the Polish Republic restructured according to these principles will ensure maximum security for our own country and will also be a significant and reliable partner for any partner in a defense alliance with us.

POLAND

Concentration of Polluters in Katowice Area Prompts Meeting

90EP0494A Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
2 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Article by Barbara Cieszewska: "To Start With, the Threat Is Extreme: A Lesson in Ecology"]

[Text] On the national list of 80 polluters, 24 are in the Katowice Voivodship which was visited by Minister Bronislaw Kaminski and the entire staff of vice ministers and directors of the departments. One question had to be answered: what concrete steps have been taken by your establishment to decrease its stress on the environment?

This was an excellent lesson in ecology. Most of the time, the directors defended their positions; the minister and Governor Tadeusz Wnuk were asked for specifics.

Of three coking plants in Zabrze, two will be closed: one before April and the other at the end of the year. The director of the industrial coking group maintains that closing the plants will not settle the matter since sulfur coal will be burned in the furnaces, but the expertise of scientists is inexorable: coking plants are not suited to modernization. Only one has to be modernized to meet municipal needs. That is the ultimate conclusion.

Katowice steel mill is next on the list of polluters. A scandal on a European scale is the fact that the mill takes water from the drinking water intake. The governor has stated that Slask is threatened by a water shortage. He warns that the water-right license will not be renewed. It seems that in July, the mill will be withdrawing water illegally. It is poisoning Slask and Jura Krakowska and emits thousands of tons of dust. The State Environmental Protection Inspectorate confirmed the disastrous state of the electrofilters and their low effectiveness. When the mill was built, predictions were made that these filters would absorb 99 percent of the dust. It ended with the announcements. They attained 80 percent effectiveness. The extent of soil contamination is increasing; we still do not know what size the protected region should be. The administration is carrying on discussions with foreign firms for improving the functioning of the electrofilters. We will see what the result will be.

The argument with the nitrogen plants about the Bobrek carbide plant continues. The governor intends to close it in May 1990. The administration is requesting a three-year extension. It has put forth its arguments, and a decision has been made to bring in independent experts.

The Rybnik power station. Gentlemen, you are burying yourselves and the city ever deeper with your waste. A substantial part of this is underground already, but a dump with a three-year capacity is still needed. The matter will be considered, but you must expect opposition from the community. And what about the sulfur oxides with which the power station is poisoning the

area? The director speaks of the need to desulfurize the coal, and the minister asks for specific plans. The power station is old, is the answer. It is being modernized gradually. The director anticipates fluid boilers in 10-20 years!

Laziska steel mill saved itself by providing information on the construction of four filters for 6 billion zlotys. This addition will be completed by the end of 1993. The director of the mill also announced officially that he made a decision in keeping with the law that production will not be moved from Siechnice to Laziska since this would cause the environment in Katowice Voivodship to deteriorate.

We all know that in Krakow, the Vistula is brackish. This is due to three mines: Cieczot, Piast, and Ziemowit. The World Bank is already interested in this since enormous investments, in the order of 4 billion zlotys, will be required. A specific program is to be presented by 30 May. This problem does not at present concern Slask, but "we have settled Krakow, there are all indications that we will shortly settle Warsaw," the governor joked. "We must, therefore, act quickly."

In the zinc plant in Miasteczko Slaskie, one of the more serious polluters, one technical line has been put on hold, and another will be put on hold till the end of March. The director says that this will decrease dust fall out by 70 per cent and heavy metal fall out by 60-70 per cent. The director defends the rest of the plant since it is modern. This opinion is confirmed by the National Environmental Protection Inspectorate. A decision, however, must be made about the use of the area around the plant. This is contaminated by lead and cadmium. Concentrations of lead in the blood of children from Miasteczko Slaskie are several times higher than in children in Dunia.

Finally, Minister Kaminski was attacked by Deputy Barbara Blida, (Deputies Club of the Democratic Left). Slask has been exploited for 45 years, and now you are leaving us alone, that is not fair.

The minister did not exclude the flow of ecological funds from other regions to Slask, but he said definitely that harm that is done to the environment must be repaired by the perpetrators. That is a principle of economics. It is also a fact, however, that $\frac{3}{4}$ of the soil in Katowice Voivodship is not suitable for use because it contains 100 times more heavy metals than the allowable limit. We have adequate maps of the complaints, but there is no money even for making people conscious of them, to say nothing about reclamation.

"We counted and continue to count on the energy of the minister; we believe that the people will help save Slask. There are similar examples in the world," say the research workers in the Institute for Environmental Protection.

"Specific programs for improvement will be prepared by the end of August," Minister Kaminski told a RZECZ-POSPOLITA journalist. "We would like enterprises to realize the gravity of the problem; that is the reason for today's meeting. It is something in the order of an ecological lecture. We have spoken for many years about improvement, today society no longer believes in declarations. We must restore credibility to our assurances. Obviously we will not save the environment on the ashes of the economy, and for that reason, we are beginning with the elimination of the worst threats. If we do not do this in an organized and rational fashion then society, in a defense reaction motivated by the instinct of self-preservation, will force unrestrained closing of the plants on us. Therefore, instead of violence and total protest, we must act decisively and immediately.

YUGOSLAVIA

Foreign Currency Reserves, Outflows

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10 May 90 p 12

[Article by Ljubodrag Cudomirovic: "A Slower Inflow of Foreign Exchange Is Expected"]

[Text] Yugoslav foreign currency reserves have reached the amount of \$8.3 billion—this is the most recent datum, obtained yesterday from Branko Dragas, MA, vice governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia responsible for foreign exchange.

Since Yugoslavia's foreign currency reserves have increased remarkably by our standards—and still more compared to our long-standing habits—especially since the adoption of dinar convertibility, we asked Vice Governor Dragas what can be expected in coming months. Especially since the total level of foreign currency reserves exceeds what was planned by all of \$2.2 billion and since serious criticism is being heard ever more frequently to the effect that we have begun to augment foreign currency reserves even beyond those limits considered to be economically optimal.

Reserves Are Not Excessively High

"Fears that we will end this year with an exceptionally high and by our standards unprecedented level of foreign currency reserves amounting to more than \$12 billion are not altogether warranted. It is not true that it can now be said with much professional competence that our present level of foreign currency reserves is mostly just doing us harm. That is, I am of the opinion that Yugoslavia's future obligations will require us to have approximately exactly the kind of reserves we now have, and our figures and all trends show that foreign currency reserves in the coming period will grow much more moderately than has been the case at the beginning of the year.

"I must immediately explain that in previous years Yugoslavia faced substantial seasonal fluctuations in the growth of foreign currency reserves. Starting at the beginning of the year they would fall and then later, especially with the augmented inflow from invisible foreign exchange transactions, especially in the summer months and at the end of the year, they would grow. This is the first year that something quite the opposite has happened. The surplus in the balance of payments, that is, the net result in the country's balance of current payments, amounted to about \$100 million for the first three months, while in the first three months of last year we had a deficit of \$100 million. In practical terms, this phenomenon alone augmented the planned foreign currency reserves by about \$200 million.

"The second reason for this year's increase in foreign currency reserves from the very beginning of the year was the accelerated repatriation of foreign currency by exporters on the basis of exports which took place earlier. This occurred because of the fixed exchange rate, since exporters could no longer count on a more favorable rate, and also because of the restrictive credit-and-monetary policy, since from the beginning of this year the lack of dinar liquidity had to be made up with more rapid repatriation and sale of foreign currency.

"And finally, the third reason is the augmented purchase of foreign currency, above all from individuals, which reached the amount of \$700 million. To be sure, over that same period foreign currency was also sold to individuals in the amount of \$920 million, but there was nothing unusual about the rate of sales compared to previous years, while this year's rate for purchases was exceptionally high.

"It is true, of course, that an excessively high growth of the country's foreign currency reserves is already causing monetary difficulties of a particular kind and could cause new ones. Other experts have been commissioned to correct those problems, and our business people are sufficiently aware of this. But it should not be forgotten that the country's present foreign currency reserves mainly serve and will serve to preserve the convertibility of the dinar and the country's foreign currency liquidity. Especially since acceptance of that convertibility has still not come from the International Monetary Fund, and this represents a new obligation for our country in consistent maintenance of the convertibility that has already been declared.

"Even now the country's foreign currency reserves are not too high for such a task, and, as FEC chairman Ante Markovic recently said, they will not be, and we here in the National Bank are of the opinion that they should not be used to invigorate domestic production, its growth, and a new investment cycle. New credits obtained from various international financial institutions and on the world financial market will be used for those purposes."

Reserves for Convertibility and Credits for Development

"Some people might say that I am a pessimist and skeptic, but on the basis of present data I am convinced that the country's foreign currency reserves in coming months will not grow nearly as splendidly as they have from the beginning of this year, and I think that at year's end we might possibly have slightly more than \$10 billion in reserves, which is quite in line with the tasks which the National Bank has in preserving the convertibility of the dinar and meeting other obligations," Dragas emphasized.

According to the vice governor of the National Bank, thought nevertheless is being given to a certain reduction of the opportunity which the economy now has to correct the problems of its own liquidity more and more frequently through some kind of borrowing abroad, which in a way is actually an unrealistic way of inflating the country's foreign currency reserves. We are referring to an increasingly frequent practice of our enterprises of taking from foreign customers, to whom they will later be exporting goods, foreign currency advances amounting not only between 30 or 40 percent of the

value of the future export, but even at the level of 100 percent of the future export. Also, our banks are more and more frequently opening letters of credit for goods being imported and which still have to be paid for, guaranteeing that a current import will later be paid for with foreign currency.

In this way, Yugoslav work organizations are relieving themselves of dinar expenditures for the moment, postponing them to a later date. A result of all of this is that Yugoslav foreign currency reserves are somewhat larger for the moment and in keeping with our obligations would not amount to more than \$8 billion.

All in all, this at the same time explains why what is called the cash flow is especially high in the structure of Yugoslav foreign currency reserves, i.e., why the inflow of cash foreign currency into the state treasury is so high and why the foreign currency reserves have grown so much, even though the current net result in the balance of payments over the first four months is only \$200 million better this year than it was during the first four months of last year.

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68

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